DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 248 715	FL 014 571

AUTHOR	Christian, Donna; And Others
TITLE	Adolescent and Young Adult English of Vietnamese Refugees.
INSTITUTION	Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Dec 83
CONTRACT	NIE-G-81-0122
NOTE	285p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adolescents; *Adults; Classroom Techniques; Contrastive Linguistics; *English (Second Language); Grammar; Interviews; *Language Attitudes; *Language Proficiency; Language Usage; Oral Language; *Refugees; Second Language Instruction; Sociolinguistics; Standard Spoken Usage; Tenses (Grammar); Vietnamese; Writing Skills; Young Adults
IDENTIFIERS	Virginia

ABSTRACT

A study examining the sociolinguistic context and emerging linguistic structure of English in a Northern Virginia Vietnamese community, based on taped interviews and limited writing samples, is presented. The subjects were 93 refugees categorized by age range (10-13, 15-18, 20-25, 35-55 years), length of residence in the United States (1-3 and 4-7 years), and sex. The community is described from a broad-based sociolinguistic perspective in order to assess community values and attitudes; an overview of the phonological and grammatical structure of the English variety is given; and a detailed linguistic analysis of the structural category of tense markings is made. Based on the results of the sociolinguistic description, a set of principles for teaching English as a second language within this context is suggested. Results of the study of writing samples, showing that writing problems stem largely from habituated patterns of spoken language divergence from standard norms rather than from mechanical or spelling problems, is discussed in the context of the underlying sociolinguistic values and attitudes within the community. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED248715

Adolescent and Young Adult English

# of Vietnamese Refugees

NIE-G-81-0122

by

Donna Christian
Walt Wolfram
Deborah Hatfield

Center for Applied Linguistics
Washington, D. C.

December 1983

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

CAL

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

FL014571

The research conducted and reported herein was funded by the National Institute of Education under NIE-G-81-0122 to the Center for Applied Linguistics, Walt Wolfram and Donna Christian, Principal Investigators.

The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the position, policy or endorsement of the funding agency.

Project Duration: September 29, 1981 - September 30, 1983

This report may not be reproduced without permission.

DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY

Adolescent and Young Adult English of Vietnamese Refugees

This study examines the sociolinguistic context and the emerging linguistic structure of English in a Vietnamese community in Northern Virginia. Tape-recorded interviews were conducted with 93 subjects from this community, representing the following age ranges: 10-12, 15-18, 20-25, 35-55; in addition, subjects were divided by length of residency (1-3 years and 4-7 years) in the United States and by sex. Writing samples were also collected for 39 subjects in the 10-18 year-old range.

The community is first described from a broad-based sociolinguistic perspective, since community values and attitudes are inextricably involved in linguistic behavior and thus essential information for understanding it. An overview of the phonological and grammatical structure of the English variety is then given, along with a detailed linguistic analysis of the structural category of tense marking. While Vietnamese English is highly divergent from some varieties of English, it is found that it does not generally align itself with surrounding non-mainstream varieties of English.

Based on the results of the sociolinguistic description, a set of principles for teaching English as a second language within this context is suggested. The study of select samples of written language shows that writing problems stem largely from habituated patterns of spoken language divergence from standard norms, as opposed to mechanical and spelling problems. This pattern seems to be consonant with underlying sociolinguistic values and attitudes within the community.

PREFACE

The research reported here was carried out under contract number NIE-G-81-0122 with with National Institute of Education, from September 29, 1981, to September 30, 1983. The aim of the project was to describe the variety of English developing within the Vietnamese refugee community settling in Northern Virginia and to examine the implications of this language divergence on education.

The study reported here must be considered a team effort, which combined several different kinds of interests and backgrounds. For the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), it brought together concerns from the Language and Orientation Resource Center, with its continuing interest in refugee matters, and the Research Program, with its research themes of language variation and language learning. Barbara Robson bridged the two programs neatly and was an integral part of the project preparation, the organization of data collection, and the provision of essential background materials in the initial stages. In addition, she commented on sections of the final report. Gwendolyn Sadler was responsible for the preliminary analysis of the writing samples and also typescripted interviews for the project. Rebecca Bills and Ruby Berkemeyer typescripted the majority of the interviews. Ms. Berkemeyer also typed the final report, and special consideration is given to her high level of performance under stringent time limitations in the final hours of its completion.

A number of individuals outside CAL also contributed to the team effort in significant ways. We received assistance from many people in locating subjects for the study, both for the spoken language and written language sample. Hung T. Do was especially helpful in making contacts with interview subjects and his initiative and persistence in this endeavor were exemplary. Jane Sadler, Helen

Prange, Inaam Mansoor, Joyce Schuman, Yvonne McCall, Tran Qui Phiet, Mohleen Chew and Mrs. Vu also provided assistance in contacting subjects and arranging interviews. The significance of this contribution should not be diminished by the names appearing in a list like this; it is a tribute to the many people who took time to help us.

Individuals who helped in obtaining the writing samples reported on in the study include Kathie Panfil, of Arlington County Public Schools, Rita Frank, of Fairfax County Public Schools, Jeanette Herbert of Glen Forest Elementary School, and Mrs. Kulsick of Sleepy Hollow Elementary School. A special thanks is due to these individuals for adjusting their extremely busy schedules to accommodate our research project.

Finally, we must cite the community members who provided a social and cultural picture of the community. Pho Ba Long, Hoang Quynh-Hoa, Tri Khac Pham and Quang Hy Nguyen provided much helpful data about the community which contributed to our understanding of the socio-cultural context. To this list of special interviews, we add all of our subjects who so willingly accommodated our intrusion into their everyday world.

The interviews for this study were conducted by Hong-Phong Pho and Deborah Hatfield, both of whom also had an important part in other aspects of the project. Mr. Pho provided assistance on numerous occasions, translating letters to parents into Vietnamese, identifying community resources, and giving valuable information and insight as a member of the community. Ms. Hatfield was also responsible for writing the ethnographic background and analysis for the study contained in Chapters Two and Three of this report. Donna Christian was responsible for writing the introduction (Chapter One), the grammatical overview (Chapter Four), and the sociolinguistic profile of the community (Chapter Seven). Walt Wolfram wrote the phonological overview (Chapter Five), the analysis of tense marking (Chapter Six), and the educational implications Chapter Eight). On every level, then, this research qualifies as a team effort, and we hope the report reflects the fact that the team emjoyed working together in this project.

Reactions and comments on the final report are welcomed and encouraged. There is certainly much more to be said about this emerging variety of English, and the possible effects of such language diversity on education. There are also some speculations found in this report that no doubt we will have to revise as we continue our sociolinguistic study. We make no pretense of having the final word, but we hope that we have added to sociolinguistic and educational understanding in some small way.

Walt Wolfram
Donna Christian
Co-Principal Investigators
December 1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Preface i

Table of Contents iv

List of Tables vii

List of Figures ix

Chapter One: Introduction 1

  The Sample 5
  The Data Base 8
  The Study 12

Chapter Two: The Community Setting: The Vietnamese Community in Northern Virginia 14

  Data Sources of Ethnographic Information 14
  History of Vietnam 15
  Migration and Resettlement 19
  Establishment of the Vietnamese Community in Northern Virginia 25
  The Community Today 33
    Residential Patterns 33
    Employment 35
    Community Organizations 38
    Religious Organizations 40
    Social Services 41
    Schools 43
    Community Attitudes 44

Chapter Three: Language Usage and Language Attitudes 47

  Vietnamese Culture 47
  Vietnamese Language and Cultural Maintenance 52
  Acquisition of English and American Culture 57
  Functions of Vietnamese and English 59
    Home Environment 60
    School Environment 63
    Religious Environment 64
  The Effects of Social Networks on Language Usage and Language Maintenance 67

Page

Chapter Four: Selected Structures of Vietnamese English: Grammatical Characteristics ... 75

  Introduction ... 75
  The Noun Phrase: Plural Marking ... 81
    Plural Suffix Absence ... 82
    Plural Marking on Singular Nouns ... 89
    Countability and Plurality ... 89
  Other Features of the Noun Phrase ... 92
  Subject-Verb Agreement ... 94
    Agreement Marking with *be* ... 96
    Agreement Marking with Non-*be* Verbs ... 99
  Copula/Auxiliary *be* Absence ... 109
  Auxiliary *have* Omission ... 111
  Irregular Verbs ... 112
  Negation ... 114
  Adverbial Usage ... 118
  Sentence Structure ... 120
  Summary ... 124

Chapter Five: Selected Structures of Vietnamese English: Phonological Characteristics ... 126
  Syllable Structure Differences ... 128
    Final Clusters ... 129
    Initial Clusters ... 133
    Final Consonant Deletion ... 135
    Final Devoicing ... 138
  Basic Contrastive Units ... 141
    The Sibilant Sounds: *s*,*z*,*sh*,*zh*,*j*, and *ch* ... 141
    The *th* Sounds ... 145
    The Stops: *b*,*d*,*g* and *p*,*t*,*k* ... 147
    Liquids *l* and *r* ... 149
    The Nasals *m*,*n*, and *ng* ... 150
  Vowels ... 151
  Summary ... 153

Chapter Six: Unmarked Tense in Vietnamese English ... 155
  Introduction ... 155
  Illustrations of Unmarked Tense ... 157
  The Intersection of Processes ... 159
  Grammatical Convergence ... 162
  Patterns of Variation in Unmarked Tense ... 165
  Variation in Irregular Verbs ... 182
  Conclusion ... 194

Chapter Seven: The Emerging Variety of English in the Vietnamese Community ... 197

  Introduction ... 197
  Characteristics of "Vietnamese English" ... 199

Page

Chapter Eight: Language, Education, and the Vietnamese Community 212

The Sociolinguistic Context 212
Spoken English 216
Written English 221

References 232

Appendix A: Adult Questionnaire 238
Adolescent Questionnaire 241

Appendix B: Sample Interview 243

Appendix C: List of Subjects 261

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 1.1: Analytic Sample 11

Table 4.1: Plural Absence by Form of Suffix and Following Environment 84

Table 4.2: Frequency of Absence of Two Inflectional Suffixes 85

Table 4.3: Frequency of Plural Absence in Noun Phrases with and without Quantifiers 86

Table 4.4: Incidence of Plural Suffix Absence 87

Table 4.5: Incidence of Nonstandard Agreement Marking for the Verb Be with Plural Subjects 97

Table 4.6: Incidence of Third Person Singular Present Tense Agreement Suffix Omission by Length of Residency, Age Group and Type of Verb 102

Table 4.7: Incidence of Nonstandard Agreement Marking by Individual Verbs 103

Table 4.8: Frequency of Nonstandard Agreement Marking for Varieties of English 104

Table 4.9: Comparison of Third Singular Agreement Suffix Absence in Present Tense and Unmarked Tense Contexts for Four Speakers 106

Table 4.10: Frequency of Absence According to the Form of the Suffix 108

Table 4.11: Extent of Negative Concord 116

Table 4.12: Comparison of Extent of Post-Verbal Negative Concord for Representative Varieties of English 117

Table 5.1: Comparison of Reduction for Final Non-Stop Clusters and Stop Clusters by Age and Length of Residency 132

Table 5.2: Absence of Final Lexical d, followed by Non-Consonant and Consonant 137

Table 5.3: Incidence of Devoicing and Absence for Final Lexical d ... 140

Table 5.4: Sibilant Productions and VE 145

Table 5.5: Production of th Sounds in VE 146

Page

Table 6.1: Incidence of Unmarked Past Tense for Irregular and Regular Verb Forms 167

Table 6.2: Unrealized Past Tense Involving Final Consonant Clusters 170

Table 6.3: Comparison of Lexical Final Cluster Reduction, Regular Past Tense Cluster Reduction and Irregular Verb Unmarked Tense 171

Table 6.4: Absence of Final d on Regular Verb Forms 175

Table 6.5: Absence of Final Lexical d, Followed by Non-Consonant and Consonant 176

Table 6.6: Absence of /Id/ on Regular Verb Forms 180

Table 6.7: Distribution of Unmarked Tense for Five Frequently Occurring Irregular Verbs 183

Table 6.8: Unmarked Tense by Type of Irregular Past Tense Formation 188

Table 6.9: Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Frequent Irregular Verbs Versus Others, by Irregular Type and Length of Residency 191

Table 6.10: Unmarked Tense for Modals will and can, by Age and Length of Residency 192

Table 7.1: Summary of the Incidence of Nonstandardness for Four Grammatical Structures 202

Table 7.2: Summary of the Incidence of Deletion for Two Phonological Features 206

Table 7.3: Incidence of Consonant Cluster Reduction with a Following Non-Consonant Environment for Selected Varieties of English 208

Table 7.4: Incidence of Nonstandardness in Plurals, Agreement and Negation for Varieties of English 210

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 6.1: Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Regular and Irregular Verb Forms, by Age and Length of Residency 168

Figure 6.2: Comparison of Past Tense Cluster Reduction, Lexical Cluster Reduction and Unmarked Past Tense for Irregular Verb Forms by Age and Length of Residency 172

Figure 6.3: Comparison of Past Tense /d/ Absence, Lexical /d/ Absence, and Unmarked Irregular Past Tense Forms, by Age and Length of Residency 177

Figure 6.4: Comparison of Unmarked Irregular Verb Forms with Different Phonological Realizations of Regular Verb 181

Figure 6.5: Incidence of Unmarked Tenses for Irregular Verb Forms, by Individual Speakers 185

Figure 6.6: Unmarked Tense for Replacives, Internal Vowel, Vowel + Suffix, and Suppletive Forms of Irregular Verbs, by Length of Residency 189

Figure 6.7: Incidence of Unmarked Tense by Verb Type 193

Figure 7.1: Incidence of Consonant Cluster Reduction in VE by Length of Residence Category 208

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The study of social and ethnic varieties of English has been a developing interest within sociolinguistics for almost two decades now. During this time major descriptions have enriched our knowledge of the social dialects throughout the United States, including Vernacular Black English (Wolfram 1969; Mitchell-Kernan 1970; Labov 1972; Dillard 1972; Fasold 1972), non-mainstream White varieties in northern metropolitan areas (Labov 1966; Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967) and rural southern varieties (Hackenberg 1972; Summerlin 1972; Wolfram 1974b; Wolfram and Christian 1975). In addition, some descriptive studies have looked at the English varieties spoken in bilingual communities as well, including Spanish-influenced English (Fishman *et al* 1971; Wolfram 1974a; Penalosa 1980), Italian-influenced English (Biondi 1975) and various varieties of English spoken in American Indian communities (Leap 1977; Wolfram, Christian, Leap and Potter 1979).

Sociolinguistic studies over this period have been significant on both theoretical and practical levels. On a theoretical level, these studies have provided an important base for investigating the nature of language variation and important new insights relevant to linguistic description, such as the use of variable rules and implicational analysis, have emerged from these studies (Labov 1969; Bickerton 1971; Cedergren and Sankoff 1974; Sankoff 1978).

On a practical level, sociolinguistic studies have provided an important descriptive base for investigating the relationship between educational achievement and linguistic diversity. It has been shown that important educational tasks such as reading and writing cannot be understood without considering the potential role of linguistic diversity (Laffey and Shuy 1973; Whiteman 1980).

The question of language differences and educational achievement remains one of the most significant questions facing the American educational system in its attempt to provide educational equity for students from culturally diverse backgrounds.

The kinds of studies cited above represent a range of established varieties within American English, including groups from traditional monolingual and bilingual backgrounds. Recent settlement patterns of refugees within the United States, however, suggest that it is appropriate to extend the investigation to a less traditional situation, namely, the emerging English varieties spoken by refugees. The current study is an attempt to investigate one of the varieties that may be developing from the recent development of refugee communities--the English spoken by Vietnamese refugee adolescents and young adults.

The acquisition of English among recent refugee groups is, of course, a matter of serious concern as these communities attempt to acclimate themselves to life in the United States. For the most part, many adults in these communities limit their use of English exclusively to those interactions where their native language cannot be used. Within the community of refugee contacts, the native language remains the dominant means of communication. Adolescents and young adults, however, may not adopt such a restricted context for the use of English, and often are observed to use English with their ethnic community peers. For the youth, then, English is becoming the dominant language, but the variety they are acquiring often still reflects Vietnamese features and origins.

While the structural details of adult English in these communities may be explained largely in terms of traditional models of second language acquisition, including specific language transfer from the native language (Weinreich 1964; Dam Trung Phap 1980) or generalized language learning strategies (Corder 1967; Dulay and Burt 1972; Taylor 1974), adolescents and young adults are developing a variety of English which is a product of these and other forces. In effect, their English must be seen as an emerging variety to be considered along with the other dialects of the language. It is well-known that other varieties of English (Marckwardt 1958; Shuy 1967; Metcalf 1979) have dynamically integrated influence from other languages into an English framework to result in unique ethnic and social varieties.

The processes by which such varieties emerge and stabilize are, of course, important to study for a number of reasons. Theoretically, the study of emerging dialects can be used to document the way in which various influences can be combined in unique ways to arrive at a particular variety of English. For example, our previous studies of varieties of English spoken among selected American Indian groups in the Southwest (Wolfram et al 1979) demonstrated that direct and indirect assimilation from surrounding non-mainstream varieties of English had to be considered along with both direct and indirect influences from ancestral languages and generalized second language learning strategies in order to account for the resultant variety of "Indian English".

In the absence of descriptive data on "Vietnamese English", a number of assumptions might erroneously be made about such a variety. One popular assumption is that a speaker of such a variety might simply fossilize an error-filled type of "broken English", an unworthy approximation of Standard English. From this perspective, rule-governed patterns related to the linguistic backgrounds of the speakers are dismissed as random and haphazard mistakes which are to be remedied by instruction in "basic English". From a sociolinguistic perspective, this assumption must be challenged on the basis of a fundamental understanding of the nature of linguistic diversity. It has been amply demonstrated (cf. Labov 1970) that all language varieties are rule-governed and systematic, regardless of their history or relative social position.

There are, however, other assumptions about such a variety which can only be challenged on the basis of a rigorous descriptive account of some representative varieties of "Vietnamese English". For example, it may be assumed that this variety is simply identical to surrounding mainstream or non-mainstream varieties of English described in the literature. This viewpoint does not allow for unique aspects which may occur in Vietnamese English. It precludes the possibility that there are surface forms which may appear to be like items described for other dialects, but which actually have an underlying source or function quite different from the same surface form found elsewhere. For example, Wolfram *et al* (1979) showed that the absence of tense marking in Pueblo Indian English (as in *In those days, we live in the Pueblo*), while superficially appearing to be similar to processes in other non-mainstream varieties, actually functioned in a distinct way structurally.

Finally, divergence in this system might be considered simplistically as the result of language learning strategies, whether generalized acquisitional strategies or language transfer or "interference". We have already commented above that such a simplistic solution must be viewed with suspicion, since previous descriptive work in this area suggests a selective integration of influences from various sources.

Differing perspectives on the nature of an emerging variety such as Vietnamese English are not simply matters of theoretical and descriptive interest; they have essential educational and social implications. Thus, strategies for teaching English may be determined by an assumption about the nature of the variety. Quite clearly, practical considerations for teaching Standard English demand that the nature of Vietnamese English be understood from an empirical, descriptive rather than a speculative, assumed perspective.

One of the most significant educational problems which can be addressed by the study of social varieties is the effect that dialect diversity might have on basic skills such as reading and writing. Studies of writing skills and dialect diversity have indicated that there is certainly potential for influence from spoken language in writing, but that the exact role of such influence is unclear. Studies of writing among speakers from non-mainstream groups in the early 1970's identified dialect differences as a major and unique source of writing problems (Wolfram and Whiteman 1971; Crystal 1972). More recent studies (e.g. Whiteman 1976) have called the uniqueness of the contribution of dialect divergence into question, thus leaving the significance of spoken language influence in writing still a matter of considerable debate. A substantive answer to the role of spoken language influence on writing can only be answered on the basis of an expanded empirical base, one which combines the detailed study of the spoken with the written code.

In order to provide the kind of information needed to address concerns like those outlined above, we have undertaken an ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of a community of Vietnamese English speakers. In the following sections we will describe the sample which forms the basis for this investigation and the procedures used to gather our data. The remaining chapters of this report discuss in detail the results of our investigation.

The Sample

The Northern Virginia Vietnamese community, located in the greater Washington, DC, metropolitan area, was chosen as the site for this study. Geographically, the region is situated directly across the Potomac River from the city of Washington, DC, and includes Arlington County, Fairfax County and the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church. Although there are a number of different locales in which Vietnamese English might be examined, this location seems to be ideal for the initial investigation of such an emerging variety of English. It is the oldest and most stable Vietnamese community in the United States and one which is still growing and receiving new refugees. In 1975, when the first wave of refugees left Vietnam, there was a small cohesive group of Vietnamese already living in the area which worked for various international and federal government organizations like the World Bank, the Agency for International Development and the Voice of America. They served as the first set of sponsors for the refugees. The proximity of Washington, DC, to Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania (the site of a large refugee camp), also encouraged a number of refugees to settle in the area. Today there are over 15,000 Vietnamese living in Northern Virginia, and Arlington County serves as the cultural and social center for all the Vietnamese in the greater Washington area (and in some cases, beyond). There are a large number of Vietnamese businesses in Arlington County, the most Vietnamese "self-help" groups in the country, and youth groups, business groups and religious groups which meet regularly.

The community continues to grow, as members of families migrate from other parts of the country to join their families in Northern Virginia, as secondary migration by refugees who originally settled elsewhere takes place, and as new refugees continue to arrive. What we see, then, is an emerging Vietnamese community which is reminiscent of the kinds of ethnic communities which have arisen historically in many metropolitan areas of the United States at different points in time. A more detailed description of the community and its historical development is provided in Chapter Two.

A major source of data for our study comes from a set of tape-recorded interviews with member of this community. This sample includes several different age levels of adolescents and young adults who have acquired English subsequent to their initial language acquisition of Vietnamese. In addition, there is a group of adults whose spoken language might represent the kind of English we would expect from the parents of these adolescents and young adults.

The sample is divided into four categories according to age. The first age group, adolescents (10-12), represents a stage of language usage in which a great deal of flexibility in terms of language adaptation can be expected. The second stage, teen-agers (15-18), represents a period during which there is increasing awareness of language diversity and a strong tendency towards adaptation of norms in compliance with peer group language. The third group, young adults (20-25), represents a stage beyond secondary education, a period when adult norms and uses of language are becoming fully formed and stabilized. The fourth group, mature adults (35-55), is included to give an indication of the kind of English model provided by parents, one in which English is expected to have a much more restricted role when compared with the other groups, given the dominance of Vietnamese for most individuals in this age group. While the structures and uses of English for the parental group might be quite different, it is, nonetheless, important to compare their language patterns with those being acquired by the adolescents and young adults. One fact should be mentioned in connection with this oldest group. Since many of the older Vietnamese speak little or no English, subjects in this category are not truly reflective of the wider population in that age range. Rather they represent the subset of the population who speak English and who feel secure enough to submit to being interviewed.

Another dimension to be recognized in studying Vietnamese English is the length of time each subject has been in the United States, since this typically correlates with significant exposure to English. For our purposes, we distinguish between those who have been in the United States 4 to 7 years and those who have been here 1 to 3 years. The first group represents the initial wave of Vietnamese refugees following the fall of Saigon, and the more recent arrivals represent the steady flow of Vietnamese refugees in later waves of migration. It should be noted here that all classifications into these two categories reflect the length of residence in the U.S. at the time the subjects were actually interviewed, most during calendar year 1982. The third parameter reflected in the sample is sex, and a balance of male and female subjects was obtained for each category mentioned above.

A total of 93 members of the community were interviewed. Appendix C gives a full list of the subjects with the age, sex and length of time in this country for each. A further factor which is noted is what other languages, if any, in addition to Vietnamese and English, the subject reported knowing. We obtained this information so that we could assess more completely the forces contributing to features in the English variety spoken. The main languages reported were French and Chinese.

The Data Base

The research is based on tape-recorded interviews with the subjects described in the previous section, with each interview ranging from 45 to 50 minutes in length. Some of the subjects were contacted through English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) classes in the schools and adult education centers, but most were contacted through the network of friends and relatives of those previously interviewed. This proved to be a much more effective method of obtaining subjects compared to that of contacting them ourselves. Two interviewers were used, one indigenous to the community, and one a native English-speaking Anglo. The interviewer from the community did most of the interviews with the two younger age groups.

The interviews followed the format used by Labov, Wolfram and others in sociolinguistic studies, where the goal of data collection is to obtain samples of casual speech. The major portion of the interview consisted of relatively free conversation. The interviewers had certain topics and basic questions that could be pursued, but they were encouraged to be as flexible as possible and to focus on whatever topics the subject seemed interested in talking about. In addition, some of each interview was devoted to specific questions designed to elicit particular social and ethnographic information. A typescript of a typical interview is included as Appendix B, to illustrate the nature of the data obtained.

The questionnaire for the more structured part of the interview was standardly administered at the end of each session. One section contained a number of questions about the refugee's life in the United States, life in Vietnam and comparisons of the two. Among these were questions about relatives living close by, friendships, neighbors and religious or community activities which were designed to elicit information about the social networks in which each subject participates. Often, many of these topics came up spontaneously during the free conversation, so much of the information was obtained without formally asking the prescribed questions from this section. The other pat of the questionnaire was concerned with the language choices made according to interlocutors, setting and topic, and with eliciting comments that revealed language attitudes. Questions in this part included: "Do you want to continue to speak Vietnamese?" and "Do parents worry about their children not learning or keeping up Vietnamese?". The full forms of the questionnaire are given in Appendix A. Two versions were constructed, one for adolescents and teenagers, and one for adults.

In addition to the interviews described above, several interviews were conducted solely to obtain ethnographic information, with members of the community who are especially sensitive to issues of language and cultural maintenance. We were also able to observe patterns of language usage in a number of different subjects' homes where interviews were conducted as well as during various public community affairs. This wide array of data on the ethnography of language usage complements our recorded language samples.

Once the tape-recorded interviews were collected, a subset was identified to serve as the primary sample for detailed analyses of language features. The subset was chosen on the basis of technical quality of the recording and suitability for the analytic sample (according to amount of speech from the subject, the rapport between the subject and the fieldworker, and so on). Further, interviews were selected to maintain a balance along the dimensions identified earlier for the sample: age, sex, and length of residence in the United States. Table 1.1 lists the subjects included in the analytic sample according to those categories. Each interview chosen for this sample was then typescripted. It is important to note here that typescripts are not intended to serve as data themselves; they are representations in ordinary orthography of the contents of a tape that may be used as a guide (see Appendix B for an illustration). For all data extraction, the recordings themselves are consulted in conjunction with the typescripts. The remainder of the interviews, those not typescripted, were retained as a secondary corpus, to be consulted as needed.

In addition to the tape-recorded interviews, writing samples were obtained from adolescent and teen-aged members of the community, so that written and spoken language patterns could be compared. These samples include a variety of formats--free narrative, paragraphs on assigned topics, book reports--since they were written in response to normal classroom assignments. A total of 39 subjects, ranging in age from 10 to 18, were included in this group, and the amount of writing per subject ranged from one paragraph to several pages. Many of the students in this group were also subjects in the sample of tape-recorded interviews. Extracts of the writing samples obtained are given in (1) and (2) as

Age Group	Length of Residence			
	1 - 3 Years in US		4 - 7 Years in US	
	Subject Number	Age/Sex	Subject Number	Age/Sex
10 - 12	2	10M	4	13M
	11	10M	5	12M
	16	12M	19	11M
	17	11M	92	10M
	3	11F	1	13F
	9	11F	42	11F
	18	12F	44	11F
	33	12F	57	12F
	34	10F	70	10F
15 - 18	37	17M	29	15M
	48	15M	43	16M
	52	17M	53	17M
	84	16M	54	17M
			59	17M
	28	16F	49	16F
	39	15F	50	15F
	46	17F	51	16F
	47	17F	60	18F
	68	15F		
20 - 25	26	24M	77	24M
	27	20M	80	20M
	58	24M	89	23M
	83	25F	65	22F
	87	25F	69	20F
			76	20F
35 - 55	24	45M	20	50M
			74	39M
			79	40M
	67	40F	32	37F
	91	36F	78	33F

Table 1.1 Analytic Sample

illustrations of this segment of the data base:

1. (Subject #9) Discovering Outer Space.

> One night Beth, Jane and me were playing outside, a spaceship landed. A martian came out. We were surprised. The Martian ask us if we want to go to outer space. We say yes. The Martian took us the mars. Beth collect many kind of rocks. I was looking star. The star was so big and bright. And Jane was going holes to holes with a space dog. The Martian said she is going to bring us to Pluto. So we get in the spaceship. Then we landed in Pluto. The Martian took us to walk around. We found a lots of strange things. After five hours we go back home to thanked the Martian. At the morning we get up up. We feel like dreaming, but we still have our collections. We put the collections in a glass box. So everybody can see it.

2. (Subject #19) Story: Putting the Sun to Work

> This book is very good. It tells you that the sun does lots of work. The sun can make weather stations work. It heat houses. It can do almost anything. If you live near a body of water you would be warmer in the winter, because when the sun shines on the water in the summer it stores water. This book tells you how to cook eggs. You would have to get foil paper. Tape it on the inside of the box and put the eggs in the box. The sun will shine on the foil paper. The foil paper will deflect the heat on the eggs.

The Study

In the remaining chapters, the results of our investigation of Vietnamese English in the Northern Virginia Vietnamese community are reported. Chapter Two sets the scene for the research, by describing the community and its development. This description not only makes it clear why the Northern Virginia region is an ideal site for this study, but it also gives important background information to understanding the factors contributing to the patterns of language usage and language forms observed. In Chapter Three, we report on an ethnographic analysis of Vietnamese culture and language maintenance and the shift to English within the community. In particular, the language behavior, attitudes, values and social networks of four representative families in the community are examined to uncover the relationships among these factors as they contribute to the establishment of the roles and functions of English and Vietnamese within the community. Both Chapters Two and Three also provide valuable insight for our later consideration of educational concerns.

The next four chapters take up the question of the variety of English which is emerging within this Vietnamese community (Vietnamese English or VE). Chapter Four examines selected grammatical features involving the noun phrase, verb phrase and sentence structure, while characteristics of the phonology of VE, including syllable structure differences and consonant and vowel modifications, are described in Chapter Five. In both descriptions, attention is given to the underlying sources of divergence from standard English patterns. Then, in Chapter Six, a careful and systematic investigation of a single prominent VE feature, unmarked tense, reveals the intricate interplay of forces that are producing the spoken language patterns of this variety. Chapter Seven discusses the findings of the earlier chpaters on language form, summarizing them in order to compose an overall picture of VE and the direction in which it is developing. Comparisons of VE to other non-mainstream varieties are also drawn.

The final section, Chapter Eight, discusses the educational implications of the study. A set of principles for working with students from the Vietnamese cmmunity are suggested, and questions relating to spoken and written English for this population are addressed.

CHAPTER TWO

The Community Setting: The Vietnamese Community in Northern Virginia

Data Sources of Ethnographic Information

The following ethnographic description of the Vietnamese community in Northern Virginia is based on three types of data sources. These are: (1) journal articles, newspaper and magazine articles, and books; (2) tape-recorded interviews done with the subjects who participated in our study, and a few conversations which were not taped; and (3) first-hand observation of the community in various settings. Concerning the language data interviews, although the interview sessions were basically free conversations, there was much ethnographic information which could be extracted since certain topics were typically discussed at some point during the interviews. As described previously, the subjects in our study vary in age from ten to fifty-five years, and in length of residence in the United States from one to seven years. A wide variety of experiences is represented, serving as good input for an ethnographic description of the community. In addition, several interviews were conducted with particular individuals specifically for information-gathering purposes. These individuals were knowledgeable about the Vietnamese community and have all been heavily involved in activities in the community, such as the Vietnamese Parents Association. All have been in the United States since 1975 or before. They were asked specific questions about such topics as the history of immigration of the Vietnamese, organizations in the community, language maintenance and shift, customs and cultural traits, and extended family situations.

The observations that follow are naturally subject to the limitations of studies based on self-reporting and subjective observation. Nonetheless, there emerges a picture of a community in which language use comprises an essential role in its definition. The setting of this community is the point at which such a study of language use must be initiated.

History of Vietnam

In order to better describe and understand the Vietnamese community in Northern Virginia, it is necessary to give a brief history of Vietnam, a description of events which led to the mass migration of refugees from Vietnam, and a description of the resettlement process.

North and South Vietnam (now unified) cover a small area of the world, but one in which there is much diversity. The total land area of North and South Vietnam is about 127,000 square miles, roughly the size of New Mexico, with a population of about 43 million (Dam 1980). In all of Southeast Asia approximately eight out of ten people are villagers, and one out of twenty people are from an ethnic minority. In 1971 it was estimated that there were between 650,000 and one million people in South Vietnam who were from an ethnic minority. The population of Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City, was 3.5 million. Approximately one out of twenty people in North Vietnam were Catholics, and one out of ten in South Vietnam, although there was evidence of syncretism with Confucianist traditions (White 1971).

Vietnam has a recorded history of about 2000 years and a semi-legendary period prior to that of another 2000 years (_History and Culture of Vietnam_). It was ruled by China for 1000 years between 111 B.C. and 939 A.C. During that time the Vietnamese were greatly influenced by the Chinese in terms of clothing, customs, and forms of government, but they were not assimilated. They maintained their own language and culture throughout that time of Chinese domination. That period was followed by 900 years of independence and territorial expansion (_History and Culture of Vietnam_), interrupted only by a ten-year period of Chinese rule (Montero 1979), referred to as the ten-year war. At the beginning of this period, in 1407, the Chinese armies of the Ming dynasty defeated the Vietnamese. However, they were forced to evacuate in 1418 by the movement of national resistance which had developed under the leadership of Le Loi, a wealthy landowner (Center for Applied Linguistics Ms). The cruel treatment which the Vietnamese received from the Chinese during that period, however, led to a hatred of the Chinese, as well as a resurgence of national pride (Montero 1979). Some who have researched the history of Vietnam say that it was their strong sense of national identity and independence which helped the Vietnamese avoid assimilation with the Chinese throughout the centuries of contact (*History and Culture of Vietnam*). This same sense of pride in their country and sense of identity as Vietnamese is seen among the Vietnamese today.

Following the ten-year war, two powerful feudal families eventually emerged, the Trinh in the North and the Nguyen in the South, which essentially split the country. The downfall of their rule began in 1772 when the Tay Son rebellion, with the support of the peasants and middle-class merchants, was initiated. It was named after the three brothers who led the revolt which overthrew the Nguyen and the Trinh and united Vietnam once again by 1787. The last remaining survivor of the Nguyen family (Nguyen Anh) overthrew these brothers in 1802 and founded the last Vietnamese dynasty, the Nguyen. They remained in power until October 1955 when Emperor and Chief of State Bao Dai was dismissed (Montero 1979).

In the meantime Westerners had arrived in Vietnam. The papal decree of 1493 divided the known world between Portugal and Spain to Christianize, and by this decree Portugal became responsible for Vietnam. Their merchants and missionaries began arriving in 1535, followed in the next century by the Dutch, English and French traders. Because the government of Vietnam was relatively strong, it was able to handle outside threats rather well, so Vietnamese trade was not very profitable for the Europeans. After the English and Dutch merchants left, the French and Portuguese missionaries increased their efforts. The missionaries were sometimes tolerated, but for the most part were treated hostilely by the various Vietnamese leaders. This was partially due to general suspicion and hostility toward the West (Montero 1979). In 1857 the bishop (Msgr. Diaz) in charge of missionary work in the northern part of Vietnam was put to death by the Vietnamese emperor. This led to France's actions to colonize Vietnam, and they landed in Da Nang in 1858 (*History and Culture of Vietnam*). The conquest stretched out until the signing of the Treaty of Protectorate on August 25, 1883, which made Vietnam a French colony (Montero 1979).

The conquest by France humiliated the Vietnamese, and they made plans to regain their independence and to seek revenge from the beginning of the period of French rule (Montero 1979). By trying to establish in Vietnam a society patterned after France, and by demanding submission to their colonial rule, the French disrupted the stabilizing forces of the Vietnamese traditional order and created stresses and tensions in Vietnamese society. Historians feel that it was these stresses and tensions which opened the way for the political awakening of the Vietnamese, which itself led to the resurgence of Vietnamese nationalism (*History and Culture of Vietnam*).

This nationalistic spirit was expressed in the form of conspiracies, secret organizations with clandestine revolutionary activities, and some open mutinies and rebellions beginning around 1905. In the 1920's several groups were formed. Among them was a nationalistic group with Chinese Kuomintang support, and a communist group under Ho Chi Minh called Viet Minh, an abbreviation for "League for the Independence of Vietnam". In 1945 the Japanese took over control of

Indochina from the French, and Bao Dai declared Vietnam to be an independent country under the "protection" of Japan. But Ho Chi Minh would not recognize the Vietnamese emperor's power, and he seized Hanoi and his cadres assumed power in Saigon shortly after the surrender of the Japanese in August 1945. Vietnam was unified under the name of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam after Ho Chi Minh proclaimed its independence in September 1946 (History and Culture of Vietnam; Montero 1979).

The French tried to return to Vietnam, but never regained complete control. On March 6, 1946, they signed an agreement with the Viet Minh which recognized it as the only "legitimate native political regime for all of Vietnam", but at the same time they received the right to move their troops into the North. At a later meeting between the two sides, no agreement was reached and the conference broke down (Montero 1979). The Vietnamese then began to attack French troops in Tonkin, and the first Indochina War (1946-1954) began (History and Culture of Vietnam). This war combined the factors of nationalism and colonialism, and of communism and democracy. In response to this confusion the Front of National Union was founded in Saigon on May 28, 1947, composed of anti-communist moderates (Montero 1979).

The United States, fearful that all of Asia would come under the control of the Communists after the takeover in North Korea, began to supply aid to the French during the French-Indochina War. After the Korean Armistice in 1953 the United States increased the amount of aid it was giving to France. However, France was defeated in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu (Montero 1979). During the period of declining French influence after the Geneva Agreement in 1954, the United States gradually became involved in the Vietnamese conflict (History and Culture of Vietnam).

The Geneva Agreements of 1954 made Vietnam an independent but divided country, along the 17th parallel. The northern half came under the control of Ho Chi Minh's Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the southern part of the country Bao Dai was persuaded by non-communist nationalists to return from exile and become Chief of State of "The State of Vietnam". Bao Dai appointed Ngo Dinh Diem as prime minister, and Diem later won a referendum to become Chief of State himself. In October 1955 he proclaimed that the South was the Republic of Vietnam, and the United States became military advisor to South Vietnam at that time.

The Geneva Agreements gave the Vietnamese people six months to decide whether to choose North or South Vietnam as their residence. Approximately one million people from the North chose to be settled in the South (Nhan 1979), and some of the subjects in our study moved to the South during that period.

Although the Geneva Agreements provided for national elections to be held in 1956, the elections were never held. Diem was overthrown in 1963, and a series of military and civilian governments followed. The Vietcong were fighting in the South along with battalions and divisions of the North Vietnamese army which had moved south. In response, United States military assistance increased, and by 1966 it equaled full-scale military involvement (Montero 1979). The war continued until 1975.

Migration and Resettlement

In April 1975 Saigon came under the control of the North Vietnamese troops, and United States troops pulled out of Vietnam. The plan for evacuation which had been made could not be carried out because the Communists took over Saigon more quickly than had been expected. Those included in the evacuation plan were family members of United States citizens, those Vietnamese and their families who were employed by the American government or American businesses, and high-risk cases who could expect their lives to be in danger when the Communists arrived in Saigon. Relatively few of these people were able to leave. However, thousands did escape at that time. Some were airlifted, some fled by sea, and others went overland to Laos or Cambodia (Montero 1979).

Temporary refugee camps were set up in Asian Pacific areas, such as Guam, the Philippines, Thailand, and Wake Island. The United States and France accepted the most refugees during that time, along with Canada, Australia, Malaysia, West Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Austria (Montero 1979).

The first refugees arrived in the United States in May 1975. After a brief period of processing, the refugees went to camps in Camp Pendleton, CA, Indiantown Gap, PA, Fort Chaffee, AK, and Eglin Air Force Base, FL. These camps operated from May through December 1975. Under the Justice Department's parole authority the refugees were permitted to bypass the regular requirements for immigration. On October 28, 1977 the Congress passed Public Law 95-145 which authorized the refugees to become permanent residents upon request, and it allowed them to apply for citizenship five years after their date of arrival in the United States (Nhan 1979; Montero 1979).

In the first few years after April 1975 there was only a small trickle of "boat people"; only a few could escape from Vietnam. But in the fall of 1978 the flow of "boat people" increased dramatically, and it is estimated that more than 85,000 left during the last months of that year (Montero 1979). Since then, they have continued to arrive at the various refugee camps in Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Indonesia. As of January 1983, approximately 555,000 "boat people" had left Vietnam and arrived at refugee camps in Southeast Asia (Branigin 1983). In addition, a 1981 estimate placed the number of those who had perished at sea in their attempt to escape at a quarter of a million (Blake 1981). One of our interviewees expressed the opinion that it is a process that cannot be stopped, that people continue to escape in spite of the danger and risk involved.

During the years since 1975 many groups have helped with the resettlement of the refugees. These include an Interagency Task Force which was initiated by President Ford during April 1975, voluntary agencies (referred to as VOLAGS), and private sponsors. Vocational training projects and public assistance programs were also set up to provide help during the resettlement period (Nhan 1979; Montero 1979). The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service is the agency that decides which refugees are resettled in the United States. Volunteer agencies have taken charge of the actual resettlement process of the refugees and they secure direct placement for the refugees. They first remain in a camp in Southeast Asia for six months to two years, depending on a number of factors. Except for those who arrived in 1975 who were in the temporary camps in the United States for up to nine months, the refugees have been put directly into American life from their moment of arrival in this country (Blake 1981).

At first the refugees were accepted into the United States en masse. After the 1980 Refugee Act, however, the refugees had to prove individually that they had a genuine fear of persecution at home in order to gain entry into the United States (Shawcross 1983). The Act defined refugees as anyone outside his/her country who is unwilling or unable to return because of persecution, or a well-founded fear of it, because of religion, race, politics or nationality (Segal 1983).

By January 1981 185,000 Vietnamese "boat people", 142,000 other Indochinese, plus the 123,000 Vietnamese brought out in the airlift of 1975 had arrived in the United States. Of the other countries which resettled refugees, Canada had accepted 46,000 "boat people", Australia had taken in 38,000, and France had received 9,000 "boat people" plus 62,000 other Southeast Asian refugees by January 1981 (Blake 1981). In 1982 President Reagan cut back on the number of Southeast Asians allowed into the United States, in response to lawmakers' requests (Chaze 1982). It is estimated that approximately 162,000 Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians were still in camps in Southeast Asia in August 1983 (Shawcross, 1983).

The Vietnamese who have come to the United States have settled mainly in California, Florida, the Houston, Texas, area, and the Washington, DC, area. In June 1983, 64,400 Vietnamese were living in Southern California. (Camp Pendleton, one of the temporary refugee camps that operated in 1975, is in that area.) (Anderson 1983) Those in Orange County represent the largest group of Vietnamese in the United States. Except for Asians of Indian descent, the West is the most popular area of residence for all Asians, shown by the fact that of the 3.5 million Asian-Americans or non-citizen Asians counted in the 1980 census, more than one-half lived in California or one of the twelve western states. They are drawn there because of the mild climate, the large immigrant communities already present, and job opportunities. The Asian population in the West is expected to continue to grow because of a high birth rate among the immigrants as a group, secondary migration from other parts of the country, and the refugees' ability to bring family members to this country once they gain citizenship (Lindsey 1983).

There are various opinions as to why the "boat people" left. One interviewee thought that those who have left Vietnam by boat have done so because of political, not economic, reasons; that they could not live in Vietnam, that they understood the risk it would be to escape, and that they have not left principally because of hunger or for occupational reasons. For example, one family left because they did not want their second child to be born in Vietnam and grow up there under the present political system. They left even though they did not need to for financial reasons - family members in the United States were sending them money. Another interviewee reported that those who are in the United States came here because of Communism. A third interviewee felt that those who have left since 1977 and 1978 have left more for economic reasons than for political ones. He thought that those who had political motivations for escaping either did so before that time or have given up hope of doing so. This variety of opinions shows varied reasons for leaving, with politics and/or economics as the basis for most decisions to leave.

Americans have had mixed opinions about the arrival of the Vietnamese on their soil. The refugees began to arrive at a period when the rate of unemployment was almost nine percent, and many Americans feared that the arrival of the refugees would add to the already existing problems of the public assistance rolls. A Gallup Poll taken in 1975 reported that 54 percent of Americans thought that the Vietnamese should not be allowed to remain in the United States (Montero 1979).

In addition to negative feelings about the Vietnamese in particular, in the last few years there has been animosity about immigrants in general. For example, a recent article (1982) reported on a Roper Poll in which 80 percent of those questioned said that immigration quotas should be slashed, and 91 percent backed a crackdown on illegal aliens. Most of this animosity is directed at the Indochinese and the illegal aliens from Latin America. Some of the negative feelings are a reaction to the Cuban riots in camps in Arkansas, Florida and elsewhere, and some are due to a fear that the United States is becoming a "dumping ground" for the world's poor. Some people are afraid of a long-term impact on natural resources. Also, because the economy has been suffering, Americans have resented being forced to compete with noncitizens for jobs. Of all of the foreigners in the United States, about 81 percent are Latin Americans or Asians, and both groups are readily identifiable. They do not blend in as did the Eastern European immigrants. This changing ethnic character of America worries some people, who fear that if language and cultural separation rise above a certain level, the political stability and unity of the United States would be "seriously eroded" (Chaze 1982).

Other factors which could potentially cause problems and negative feelings toward immigrants are the "language problem" and lack of marketable skills. For their part, most immigrants say that they just want help to learn English and to learn a skill with which they can earn a living (Lindsey 1983).

The resettlement of refugees is endangered by another problem, which relief workers have called "compassion fatigue". This refers to the fact that the concern of those in the West for the Indochinese refugees has been largely exhausted (Shawcross 1983).

The Vietnamese who come to the United States now, after escaping Vietnam and arriving at a refugee camp, may have to deal first with long periods of stay in the camps, and then possibly with hostility once they reach this country. But even though there seems to be a high degree of animosity among Americans toward immigrants, one interviewee expressed the opinion that unless they have had a bad experience with refugees, Americans will not make it hard for them, that they ultimately have more compassion than jealousy. Overall, he believed, the resettlement process has been relatively successful, and there has been progress against the odds which were inherent in the situation. Perhaps when interacting with the refugees on an individual basis, Americans do not express animosity to the degree that the factors described above would imply.

Establishment of the Vietnamese Community in Northern Virginia

The Vietnamese refugee community which we have chosen to use for our study is the one which has been established in Northern Virginia. This area, directly across the Potomac River from Washington, DC, includes Arlington County, Fairfax County, and the cities of Falls Church and Alexandria.

Prior to 1975 there were only a few Vietnamese in the United States, and there was virtually no established community of Vietnamese (Haines 1981). Of those Vietnamese who were in the United States, a number of them were in the Washington, DC, area working for Voice of America, the World Bank, Agency for International Development, the Pentagon, and the Vietnamese Embassy. Many of the Vietnamese who first came to the Washington, DC, area had previous ties there. Some had friends or relatives, who worked at the places mentioned above, while others had business or government contacts with Americans. Most of those who came to the area in 1975 were sponsored by Americans.

The number of Vietnamese living in the Washington, DC, area has grown steadily since 1975. It was estimated that in 1982 there were approximately 500 Vietnamese in Washington, DC, 2000 in Maryland (in the area bordering Washington), and 15,000 to 19,000 in Northern Virginia. An August 1983 article in The Washington Post estimated that there were 18,000 to 20,000 Vietnamese in the whole Washington area (Moore and Dumas 1983).

Within the Northern Virginia area, Arlington County has been the county with the largest influx of Vietnamese refugees, as well as other refugees. By February 1982 over 8,000 Indochinese refugees, most of them Vietnamese, had migrated to Arlington and sought help from the county government services, which gave Arlington the highest per capita concentration of Indochinese in the nation (Scannell 1982). An October 1981 article stated that Arlington is the county that has felt proportionately the second largest impact of refugee migration in the United States, after only San Francisco (Bohlen 1981). Arlington County has a total of about 153,000 residents, and at least one out of every twenty is a refugee (Glaser 1982). Large numbers of Vietnamese have also settled in other areas of Northern Virginia such as Fairfax City, Falls Church, Burke, Manassas and Springfield (Moore and Dumas 1983).

The Vietnamese in the Northern Virginia area tend to be from a more privileged background (educationally, socially, and economically) than the Vietnamese who have settled in other parts of the country. This is particularly true of those who came here in 1975. Most of those Vietnamese who arrived in the United States at that time had been among the "upper crust" in South Vietnam - officers, doctors, lawyers, senior civil servants. Many of them spoke and read English to some degree (Segal 1983). As mentioned above, many who came in 1975 either had friends or relatives in the area, or had business or government ties. Others were highly educated and had studied in the United States previously. Arlington County is one of the most densely populated communities of professional Vietnamese in proportion to the rest of the population.

Those who have left Vietnam since 1978 and moved to the area have been more economically motivated and less educated that those who came earlier. Another difference between the earlier and later arrivals is that 90 percent of the refugees who arrived in Arlington County between 1975 and 1978 were off of the public assistance rolls after their first eighteen months in the United States. Those entering in more recent years lack the education and skills to enable them to get off relief that quickly, and they are more likely prospects for continued welfare assistance. Sponsorship is another difference between those who first came to the Washington area and those who came after 1977. Those in the first group were mostly sponsored by Americans, whereas those in the second group were mostly sponsored by other Vietnamese and left Vietnam because they knew someone in the United States. As a result, the first group, in general, had more contact with Americans from the beginning than did those in the second group. Often they lived with, or at least saw, their American sponsors during the initial phase of resettlement. This meant direct contact with American culture, as well as more exposure to English. In contrast, some newer arrivals now live in areas where the Vietnamese population is so dense that there are some who never speak to native English-speaking Americans, or do so as seldom as possible.

Another factor to consider in describing the Vietnamese communities in the United States in general is their ethnic make-up. While there are many who are ethnic Vietnamese, there is also a large proportion who are ethnic Chinese. In the spring of 1978 there was an outburst of anti-Chinese racism by the Hanoi government which caused many ethnic Chinese in Vietnam to flee as "boat people" at tham time (Blake 1981). Many of them arrived in the United States after that period. (This does not necessarily correlate with the economic and educational differences described previously.)

As mentioned above, the whole Vietnamese population in the Washington area tends to be from a more privileged background compared to those groups in Houston, Texas or Calfornia, who tend to be from a less privileged background. The majority of Indochinese (including many Laotians and Cambodians) in Texas are from rural areas or are fishermen. Many of the Vietnamese fisherman are Catholics, and they and their families live together in an area and have their own chapel. However, there are many children from these families who have now gone to universities in New Orleans because their parents have told them that they want them to go to college and have a better life. They may be moving into the more privileged classes, and this may also be evidence of changing values on the part of the parents. Or perhaps, college education is more accessible for them in the United States.

The Vietnamese community in the Washington area is a much more close-knit one than, for example, the one in Paris. The community in Paris is composed of Vietnamese who arrived at different periods of time, and who hold differing political views. This has created a divisive element in the community in Paris that has not been a problem in the Vietnamese communities in the United States.

There are a number of reasons why the Vietnamese have resettled in large numbers in Northern Virginia. First, there were the previous contacts with other Vietnamese or Americans which brought many to the Washington area. However, not many Vietnamese have remained in the city of Washington. One Vietnamese woman speculated that the reasons were the high expense of living there, the poor housing, and their desire for better schooling for their children, i.e. in schools in the suburbs.

Northern Virginia, especially Arlington County, has been seen by the Vietnamese as a favorable place to live because of a number of factors, one of which is housing. There is, for example, a large number of Vietnamese who live near Glen Carlyn Elementary School and Wakefield High School because the apartment buildings nearby are cheaper than many of the others in the area. Arlington County as a whole seems to have housing that is more affordable than that in other locations near Washington because much of it is older and more run-down (Moore and Dumas 1983). The refugees also tend to go where the landlords are more lenient so that more people will be able to move into a single apartment than would be allowed if there were restrictions on the maximum number of residents within an apartment. This has caused problems with some American residents who are offended by the numbers of people living in some of the single apartments. Another factor is the availability of transportation.

The refugees tend to move close to public transportation, presumably because many do not own cars. Arlington County is also favored by the refugees because the schools are often close to the housing that is available (Bohlen 1981).

For many of the Vietnamese who are living in Northern Virginia, it was their first place of residence in the United States, but for others it is their second. Arlington County, Fairfax County and the Maryland suburbs of Washington, DC have been receiving areas for the secondary migration of some of the Vietnamese refugees - those who have chosen not to remain in the first location where they were resettled. It was estimated in September 1982 that secondary migration accounted for almost 50 percent of the refugees coming into Arlington at that time (Glaser 1982). Out-migration must also be recognized and a number of families who originally settled in the Washington area have now moved elsewhere.

There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon of secondary migration, whichever geographical direction it takes. A number of refugees move from one area of the United States to another to rejoin friends or relatives from whom they were separated during the process of resettlement. The initial strategy of dispersion, which is sometimes referred to as the diaspora, made it difficult to maintain already existing social relationships (Haines et al 1981), and many Vietnamese have moved in order to re-establish these relationships. The importance of these social relationships is shown by the fact that many who came after 1975 first settled in the Northern Virginia area, for example, because their relatives were already in the area and they could help them in resettlement. Others move because they hear that another area has better job opportunities, weather, or welfare benefits. Occasionally people will move, find the second area no better, and then move back or move again to yet another location. Thus, while many of the Vietnamese refugees have remained in their area of first settlement, there has still been a good deal of movement, particularly between the various areas with high concentrations of Vietnamese residents.

Although there are a number of neighborhoods in Northern Virginia in which large groups of Vietnamese refugees reside, there is one main area for Vietnamese business, where a number of restaurants, clothing shops and department stores are located. This shopping district has come to be known as "Little Saigon" by Washington area residents. It is a three-block stretch on one of the main roads in Arlington County (Wilson Boulevard). The stores there cater almost exclusively to other Vietnamese, selling Asian food, a wide variety of Vietnamese published materials, cassette tapes of Vietnamese music, among other indigenous commodities. When subjects in our study were questioned as to where they were able to buy Vietnamese reading material, food, or tapes, most of them specifically mentioned that location. Some Vietnamese have been reported to come from as far away as New York to buy items there that they could not otherwise obtain, and there are two restaurants/clubs in that area which draw Vietnamese performers from as far away as California (Haines et al 1981). Overall, "Little Saigon" plays a central role in the community as it provides a continual setting for both formal and informal social interaction among members, who may actually live in fairly distant neighborhoods. As the primary gathering place for the Vietnamese in the area, many of the young Vietnamese men who are uneducated and unemployed go there to seek comfort from others who are in similar situations, according to a Vietnamese social worker (Moore and Dumas 1983).

The Vietnamese are not the only refugees or foreign-born residents who have chosen to live in Northern Virginia. As mentioned above, roughly five percent of the population in Arlington County are refugees (Glaser 1982); but, in fact, an estimated fifteen to twenty percent of the residents are actually foreign born. This figure includes illegal aliens and immigrants, as well as refugees. Many speak little or no English. The Hispanic community increased by about ten percent between 1972 and 1982, and there are now approximately 10,000 Hispanics in Arlington County. Other countries represented are India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Greece, Hungary, Ethiopia, Iran, Poland, and the Soviet Union. The Asian population increased 250 percent from 1972 to 1982 (Scanell 1982).

Since the Indochinese began to arrive in Arlington County, many more new immigrants have been attracted there. The influx of refugees into Arlington is not expected to be as large as it has been, but it will most likely continue to some degree. Based on the number of refugees who sought help from the county services, it was estimated in February 1982 that approximately 100 Indochinese were entering the county each month. (It was not known how many were coming in and not seeking aid (Scannell 1982).)

The attitudes of native-born Americans in Northern Virginia have been mixed toward the refugees who have moved there, as have the attitudes of Americans toward refugees in general. On the one hand, they have been welcomed as hard-working, exceptionally polite people with great respect for authority (Scannell 1982). On the other hand there have been some negative reactions. Some of these have to do with the general economic stress which has been felt all over the country and which has caused some people to feel that the refugees are receiving too much. Another factor is the influx of refugee children into the schools in Northern Virginia which has made some parents feel that their native-born children are not receiving the attention they need because the teachers are too busy dealing with students who are not native English speakers (Scannell 1982). Northern Virginia residents have also been bothered by the large numbers of refugees who have moved into some apartment buildings, and the crowding of many people into a single apartment (Bohlen 1981). Just recently, there have been some outbreaks of violence between Vietnamese, six reported cases in June and July of 1983 (Moore and Dumas 1983), which contribute further to the uneasiness felt by native-born residents. Health-related problems are also a source of concern, since, for example, there has been an increase in the incidence of tuberculosis (Glaser 1982). Finally, there have been some problems between the Black residents in Northern Virginia and the Indochinese refugees, due to the Blacks' feeling of displacement by refugee minorities. Even though some native-born Americans have negative feelings toward the Vietnamese due to a number of factors, perhaps the attitudes of the refugees toward work and their politeness and respect for authority will enhance positive attitudes which will outweigh the negative ones, particularly when there is interaction on a one-to-one basis.

This description of the Vietnamese community shows some reasons why Northern Virginia is a good site for our study of Vietnamese English. The large number of Vietnamese and the business district of "Little Saigon" assure formal and informal interaction among Vietnamese, and therefore maintenance of the Vietnamese language to some degree, at least at this time. Therefore we have been able to see the effects of maintenance of Vietnamese on the acquisition of English. However, because the Vietnamese do not live in just one area of Northern Virginia but are living in various locations, interaction with native English-speaking residents is also guaranteed. A number of non-mainstream dialects of English are represented in the area, including Vernacular Black English, accented-English spoken by native Spanish speakers, and some varieties of Southern English, and therefore the location of Northern Virginia provides a good setting in which to examine the effects of these varieties of English on second language acquisition of an entire group. Another reason for choosing this community of Vietnamese is that it began to form in 1975 and has continued to grow ever since, so we have been able to examine the effects of various lengths of residence in the United States on language and cultural maintenance. Also, Vietnamese from various backgrounds have settled in Northern Virginia, although in general they are from more privileged backgrounds than those Vietnamese living in other locations around the United States. This factor may, in fact, be one of the disadvantages in choosing this community, since our findings may not be entirely applicable to all of the Vietnamese now in the United States. However, much of what we report holds true independent of the social status of the particular individuals involved and, with minor adjustments, would be expected to reflect tendencies present in other communities of Vietnamese. That is, the forces that mold the emerging variety of English, that influence the communication patterns among members of the community, and that in general shape the development of the Vietnamese as an ethnic group within American culture may well be quite similar from one community to another. Any conclusions along those lines must, of course, await empirical evidence to support them.

The Community Today

Residential Patterns. We have already discussed to some extent the residential patterns of the Vietnamese refugees in Northern Virginia; where they have resettled and why they have chosen Northern Virginia. The role of the family, or the extended family, is an important factor to consider in understanding residential patterns. In a study done by Haines and others (1981) it was found that the family and community are extremely important in providing the types of practical aid, and social and emotional support that the refugees need during the process of resettlement. This central role which the extended family continues to play coincides with its value in Vietnamese culture. As we mentioned above, many people have moved within the United States (secondary migration) to rejoin family and friends. In some cases large numbers of refugees are living in single apartments ("large", at least, in terms of American values). In some cases there are as many as thirteen people in a three-bedroom apartment, or six people in a one-bedroom apartment. This may be a result of economic necessity, or may come about because of the extended family situation, or be a combination of both factors. Even when not actually residing in the same apartment, members of extended families may still live quite close together, as in the case of a woman and her child living in an apartment building which also houses her parents and in-laws (Bohlen 1981). We also found that in many cases members of a family outside the nuclear family were living together, and sometimes non-related friends were included in a household. In other cases a number of single men were living together as roommates or housemates.

Many times, families that are here do not include the grandparents. Some left Vietnam, but many did not want to leave because they were too old and they wanted to die in Vietnam. Those who did come to the United States for the most part live with their children and/or grandchildren. However, some (3 or 4 couples) have been known to be living in a senior citizens' housing project in the Washington, DC, area. They have found that they enjoy it there because there are people with whom they can talk. When living with their children there was often no one to talk to because their children were too busy working. There are also some older Vietnamese people who are in nursing homes, but this number is probably fairly low.

In some areas of Northern Virginia the concentration of Vietnamese, and Indochinese in general, residents is very high. One example of this is an apartment complex in Arlington County called Park Warren Towers. In the 1980 census there were over 400 Asians out of a total of 1010 residents in the area near the apartments, a concentration that was one of the highest in Arlington County. Most of the refugees there are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, but there are also Laotians and Cambodians (Bohlen 1981).

The example of Park Warren Towers is a good illustration of the type of cultural mixing that exists in Northern Virginia among the refugees and other residents there. Bohlen (1981) gave an example of a teenager from Park Warren Towers who spoke only Chinese when she lived in Vietnam, but since moving to the United States has learned both Vietnamese and English to be able to communicate with her neighbors and classmates. The refugees from various backgrounds have also worked together in the school system, for example to hold a multicultural conference. Some organizations have also held multicultural festivals. Because of the close proximity in Northern Virginia of people from various backgrounds, there have been cross-cultural contacts among the residents there that would not have occurred otherwise.

Employment. In general, more of the Vietnamese in Northern Virginia are from technical and professional backgrounds than those who have settled in other areas of the United States. Their economic adjustment has been fairly good, although there are many cases of underemployment. The early refugees, at least, had rates of employment which were similar to the whole nation, and their level of median income has gradually risen (Haines et al 1981). It was estimated that for those who had degrees from the United States, most obtained jobs which were in line with their training. Many other Vietnamese were trained in American businesses which were established in Vietnam, or by American military and civilian advisors. Many military personnel had been sent to the United States to be trained.

The first Vietnamese to come to the United States arrived at a time when the economic situation was not very good, and many of their previous American advisors were out of jobs, a fact which was hard for them to understand. Some who arrived in the Northern Virginia area had sponsors who helped them obtain housing and jobs, and who were a model to them of the attitude of Americans toward work, mobility and advancement. Some of these refugees are now leaders in the Vietnamese community.

Even though many of the Vietnamese are doing work that is similar to what they did in Vietnam, most are underemployed or over-qualified for the jobs they have. This is consistent with the process of downward occupational mobility that has been noted among refugees in general (Haines et al 1981). This pattern in the Vietnamese case is due to a number of factors. The refugees must adapt socially and culturally to American life, and learn English well enough to obtain a job commensurate with their training and background. They often face the problem of not being acquainted with all of the facets of a particular job, because of inevitable differences in ways of performing tasks, or differences in required background knowledge. In addition, an employer may not be willing to allow a refugee to take on some of the responsibilities inherent in a specific job position, thinking that because he or she is a refugee they will be unable to handle some aspects of the job.

In recent years there has been more unemployment and a tighter job market in general, and funding for job retraining programs has been cut back. This has unfortunately coincided with the resettlement in the Northern Virginia area of Vietnamese who have not had as much education and previous job training as those refugees who came earlier. In 1982 there were about 9,000 refugees among the unemployed in Northern Virginia, and they were mostly Laotians, Cambodians, and Vietnamese. The Director of Arlington's CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) was reported as stating that the Asian refugees are known to be diligent, hard workers, but their problem in obtaining a job lies in their lack of English and cultural barriers (Young 1982).

Of those who are employed, many work in service organizations, such as county government, social services, VEPCO, gas companies, and cafeterias at Dulles and National Airports. The most visible jobs are the small businesses -- grocery stores, restaurants, clothing stores, and department stores, many in "Little Saigon". Many of the Vietnamese are self-employed in businesses like these, or work as doctors and dentists, and a few are lawyers, insurance agents, and real estate agents. Some Vietnamese have another job, but work out of their homes during their free time. They may do tailoring, paint houses, fix cars, or prepare food for catering.

The importance of the community can be seen again in the example of some of these jobs. Members of the community are able to call on one another to fix their cars, or do catering for a party, as well as go to doctors or dentists with whom they can communicate in Vietnamese. Word about job openings seems to spread within the community; it is known among the residents who would be able to fill a job slot. For those who work as, for example, counselors, the responsibilities are greater that those just implied by the position. The job entails a commitment to the community. Those working with other refugees are accountable for whether they will be successful or not. A final aspect of commitment to the community is the way in which some are involved in community-related businesses, for example, the publication of newsletters or printing books from Vietnam.

In terms of the future employment of the Vietnamese youth, many are going into technical fields with the desire of obtaining a career quickly, with good pay. Because of their difficulty with English many choose the technical fields, few choose business or management, and fewer choose social service careers (Pho 1982). Many of the young people we interviewed planned to study or were studying mathematics, electronics or computer technology, and they often said that these fields were easier for them than many others because while studying them they did not have to deal with English that much.

One of the most striking facts about the employment situation which was expressed during a number of the interviews that we did, is that many of the Vietnamese have two jobs, spend most of their time at work, and have little leisure time. For many it is necessary for economic survival, rather than a matter of desiring to have a lot of money. Also, for those who need to study English as well as work, all of their time is often consumed by working, English classes, and studying at home.

Community organizations. Haines *et al* (1981) reported that in 1980 there were 260 Vietnamese organizations nationwide, with 43 in the Washington metropolitan area, most of which were in Northern Virginia.

In both Virginia and Maryland there are Mutual Assistance Associations. These are consortiums of refugee assistance programs which sponsor various activities. One example of such an activity was a Tet (Vietnamese New Year) celebration to which Americans who had worked with the Vietnamese community were invited, as well as many of the leaders in the Vietnamese community.

Another active organization is the Vietnamese Parents Association (VPA). The organization was founded in November 1980, and in 1982 approximately 250 parents were involved. More than ten percent of the students in Arlington County schools are Vietnamese. The VPA tries to provide a link between the Vietnamese and the Arlington Public School System, because they understand what the Vietnamese parents want, what the problem is, and what the parents and students really need. The parents can go through the VPA to talk with the school system, and vice versa. The VPA meets with school, county and government officials, for example, in order to request more Vietnamese-speaking workers in the schools, and express their concerns for the Vietnamese students. It also meets with Vietnamese students on various topics. For example, the association held a meeting with two of the area's high school Vietnamese clubs to discuss the role and responsibility of Vietnamese students living overseas. The VPA is seen by those within it as working for the benefit of all of the children living in Arlington County, not just the Vietnamese, and it has been working with other language groups as well. A Multi-Cultural Conference was held in February 1982 in conjunction with the Arlington School System, and plans have been made to organize a committee with representatives from the Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Korean, Hispanic, and native-English speaking American communities.

There are a number of Vietnamese student groups in the high schools, colleges and universities in the Northern Virginia area (for example, Washington Lee, Wakefield and Jeb Stuart High Schools, Northern Virginia Community College, George Mason University), and other groups not centered in a particular school (Vietnamese Catholic Student and Professional Association, Vietnamese Youth Association, and Vietnamese Students Association). One of the interesting functions of the Vietnam Clubs at the schools has been that of tutoring other Vietnamese who have not been in the United States very long, and who need help with understanding the school system and class work. Another function of some of these groups is that they attempt to maintain Vietnamese traditions. For example, one of these groups held an autumn festival for the children (similar to Halloween in the United States). During the festival a contest was held for the children. Those who entered were required to tell a story in Vietnamese, and their pronunciation was judged. The Vietnam Club at Wakefield High School puts out a magazine with articles by students and teachers. One of the issues published in 1982 described the Club's activities for the year which included two picnics with students and teachers, a Vietnamese dance group which performed at a community college and folk festivals in the area, a tutoring program which enrolled 60 students and was supervised by Vietnamese teachers, participation in a Tet Fair, and a sports team which competed with Vietnamese teams in other high schools in the area. Such activities, by promoting the use of the Vietnamese language by young people, as well as the maintenance of tradition and cultural values, provide an important mechanism for handing down and preserving community values and the Vietnamese language within the younger generations.

Some of the other organizations in the area include a very active Senior Citizens Association which sponsors many activities (for example, a Vietnamese fair), a group from a particular high school in Vietnam which has its own newsletter and reunions, and a group from a town in Vietnam which has held a reunion for those who are now living in the Washington, DC, area. There are other community activities that are held as well, including celebrations of feast days, book fairs, and movies. These too contribute to the maintenance of community identity.

Religious organizations. There are two Vietnamese Buddhist temples in the Washington area, one in Washington and one in Northern Virginia. There are also two Vietnamese Catholic Churches, also in Washington and Northern Virginia. A number of the subjects whom we interviewed attend the Vietnamese Catholic Church in Virginia, whose members joined together to buy the building (Haines et al 1981). There are daily masses, Sunday school classes in both Vietnamese and English, a choir, and Vietnamese language and history classes at the church. Social activities which provide an opportunity for people to join together are also held, such as dinners and holiday celebrations. One of the Catholic women's organizations found both in Vietnam and in the United States is the Legion of Mary. Participants spend several hours during the weekend visiting other women who are ill, and basically helping those who are in need.

In talking with community members about these various activities and religious and community organizations - tutoring, visiting those in need, acting as mediators between the Vietnamese parents and the school system, reunions of alumni from a high school in Vietnam, providing Vietnamese catering services, and so on - one senses an actual feeling of community, and a desire to help each other adjust and be successful in the United States. Others assist on an individual basis, for example, one of the women interviewed in our study had taken upon herself the responsibility of greeting new refugees moving into the apartment complex where she lives, and helping them understand the bus system, among many other details needed for daily life. An Arlington County board member reported that the refugees in general seem to be able to work well within their own networks, and know who to contact at staff levels when they have problems with housing or health-related problems (Scannell 1982).

One also senses real pressure which the Vietnamese feel in terms of providing support for their families (both parents to children, and children to parents) and learning English well enough to obtain a job that enables them to do that. This pressure is related both to the availability of time to do these things and to social and moral responsibility. The time pressure often competes with the desire to maintain the Vietnamese language, and Vietnamese customs, and to help more within the community.

Social Services. Besides the organizations, aid associations, and so on which draw their membership from the Vietnamese community, there are also county agencies which serve the Vietnamese and other refugees. The counties where the refugees resettle have the responsibility of assimilating them into the new culture. It is the first place where many of them will receive regular health care, the job skills they need, and an opportunity to learn English (Scannell 1982). In recent years, due to cuts in federal funding, the economic resources that go to these agencies which assist the refugees have been difficult to obtain. Northern Virginia has had particular difficulty because the funding which comes to the counties that make up Northern Virginia is funneled through the State, even though the northern section of Virginia is the only part that has been significantly impacted by refugees (Glaser 1982).

The Department of Human Resources is a multi-disciplinary agency in Arlington County that has the responsibility of handling the health and welfare needs of the residents in the county. The average length of welfare dependency for the refugees in Arlington County is eighteen months, but seems to be declining. However, the newer arrivals may, in reality, need to be on the welfare rolls for longer periods than those who came earlier (Scannell 1982; Glaser 1982).

Arlington County also has a centralized intake project, the Central Entry for Refugees (CER), which provides health and psycho-social screening, and short-term services for refugees (Glaser 1982). There is at least one Vietnamese social worker with the Arlington County Social Services Division, although as of the summer of 1983 the local police department had no Vietnamese-speaking officers and provided no formal training to officers for dealing with the Vietnamese community (Moore and Dumas 1983).

There are also other groups, which are not associated with the county governments in Northern Virginia, that help the refugees. One is World Relief, which helps the incoming refugees find housing and employment. A number of churches in the area also help by providing material needs such as clothing. There is an organization sponsored by the Catholic Family and Children's Service of Richmond, Virginia, called the Refugee Unaccompanied Minors Program which operates on a federal grant. The people involved in this organization work to find foster homes for some of the thousands of abandoned refugee children who are now in the United States. There is a branch office in Falls Church (in Northern Virginia), and a number of refugee children have been placed in homes in Northern Virginia. The program provides emotional support for the children and their families through social workers, interpreters, and vocational and educational coordinators. The foster parents also receive training, cultural orientation, and have monthly group meetings (Lantor 1983). Another organization working with Vietnamese children is the New York-based International Rescue Committee (IRC) which works to bring Amerasian children left in Vietnam to the United States (Melton 1982).

So there are both county agencies and private agencies which influence and aid the resettlement of the refugees. Unfortunately, the budgets are often low, or the personnel are too few, and the resources that are available are strained.

Schools. During the 1981-1982 school year in ten out of Arlington County's thirty-three public schools the minorities (including blacks) constituted a majority of the student population. There are Asians and Hispanics in all of the schools in Arlington, but their combined enrollment accounted for 30 to 60 percent of the total enrollment in these ten schools. Eight were elementary schools, one an intermediate school (Kenmore Intermediate), and one a high school (Wakefield High School). In the fall of 1981 Asians represented 14.3 percent of the student population there. In one elementary school (Glencarlyn), Asians constituted 51.6 percent of the student population (Scannell 1981, 1982). Not all Asians in Arlington County are refugees, and not all of the refugees are Asians. Approximately eleven percent of the students in public schools in Arlington in 1982 were refugees (Glaser 1982).

Much of the responsibility for the orientation of the refugees has been placed on the schools. English was not the native language of nearly 20 percent of the public school students in Arlington in 1982, and approximately 12 percent of these students from kindergarten through twelth grade were in need of extra English instruction. About 30 percent of the 23,000 students in adult education programs in 1982 had limited or no knowledge of English (Scannell 1982). The county schools in Northern Virginia have English classes for those in elementary and high schools, as well as those in county-sponsored adult education classes. There is also some vocational training offered through the adult training centers, as well as in the high school programs.

Community Attitudes. Up to this point, we have reported a number of facts about the Vietnamese community. However, the notion of community ultimately entails the perceptions of the community about themselves as well as the view from the outside.

The Vietnamese, in general, see themselves as permanent, not temporary, immigrants to the United States. Many of our subjects said that they would like to go back to Vietnam for a visit, but they do not want to go back to live there unless the Communists leave. Typically, it is only the older people who desire to return to Vietnam. Often they have been unable to learn very much English, and so cannot communicate with the English-speakers around them.

For some, becoming a United States citizen is viewed as becoming an "insider", and it places a person in a position to be able to see both sides of what is referred to as "the common problem". It is also reported that becoming a citizen of the United States is inevitable, that families cannot go back to Vietnam, and they do not want to look back at the past. While there is this sense of permanent change, many of those we interviewed spoke about how they wanted to maintain some Vietnamese traditions, while adopting some American traditions, rather than desiring to throw off everything that has to do with Vietnam (Mulligan 1982).

One problem confronting the community is that many Americans expect the Vietnamese refugees to adapt to life in the United States too quickly. If they do adapt very quickly, that adaptation can cause difficulties in their family, their workplace, and in themselves. Another problem is that there does not seem to be enough planning for community development nor enough information given out about the situation in Northern Virginia. Some family members have been separated and then have to move again to rejoin each other. Sometimes people are not told that there are too many Orientals in the Northern Virginia area for the job positions that are available, or that there is much more competition with Latin Americans for jobs in California than in Northern Virginia. They find out only after they have moved there. Many factors are left to chance that could be planned well. One interviewee felt that the Vietnamese community lacks recognition, in that there is not the mix between Vietnamese and American leaders that is necessary to divert or handle problems that may arise. Another problem is that there appears to be some discrimination in jobs and housing. The refugees do not know how to complain about issues like these, and their nature is to accept the situation and not complain. For the most part, however, the refugees themselves seem to see the language barrier as their biggest problem, at least for those who have recently arrived.

It is reported that the issue that concerns the Vietnamese parents most is their children's education. They want to be able to regain control of their education, and to be able to participate actively in it. While the Vietnamese children need the support of their parents and their school, because the parents are in a new environment, they do not know how they can help (Mulligan 1982). The educational system in the United States makes higher education available to some of the refugees who would not have access to it in other places. The credit system and the possibility of working part-time and studying part-time have allowed some of the refugees to spread out their study programs over time while still being able to support themselves. Also, the availability of scholarships for those who do well in high school has been helpful to some.

Because of the tremendous changes and pressures inherent in the resettlement process of the refugees, some have suffered severe social problems such as: marital conflicts; drug, alcohol or gambling problems; problematic parent-child relationships in which the children are being Americanized too quickly and their parents are losing control of them and are not able to guide them; and the continuation of cultural practices that are inappropriate or perhaps illegal. Another problem is that poor health has affected the motivation and ability of some of the refugees to gain and keep employment (Glaser 1982).

While there is discussion by the Vietnamese community leaders about what they desire for the community and what they perceive as their needs, there is also the sense that they desire to give something back to the community in which they are now living. As reported by one observer, one day the Vietnamese would like to do something in return for Arlington County, which has been so generous to the refugees (Scannell 1982).

In summary, the Vietnamese community in Northern Virginia is a fairly cohesive one, and one in which the people are struggling to support themselves, to learn English, to adapt to the culture in which they have resettled, and to survive in the midst of animosity directed at immigrants in general. The Vietnamese are a people who have a history of surviving during adverse circumstances, and of resisting assimilation with dominant cultures. Their sense of history and characteristics of unity and independence should assist them in adapting to the American culture, while not totally assimilating with it.

CHAPTER THREE

Language Usage and Language Attitudes

Vietnamese Culture

In order to better comprehend language usage and language attitudes in the Vietnamese community, it is necessary to examine them within the larger context of the Vietnamese cultural system, and in reference to its maintenance among the Vietnamese who have resettled in this country. Some aspects of Vietnamese culture have been discussed in Chapter Two but will be further developed here.

One of the primary components of Vietnamese culture, and one which influences behavior and lifestyle to a great degree, is the value placed on the extended family. In a study done by Haines et al (1981) in the Vietnamese community in Northern Virginia, all of the respondents stressed that their ability to act together as coherent family units was the most important cultural characteristic of the Vietnamese. The notion of working together occurs in contexts extending beyond those typical for American families. For instance, family members assist each other in their economic adjustment in this country, and when possible the family provides unconditional help. As discussed in Chapter Two, often family members live with one another or geographically close to each other, and they have discovered that by pooling their monetary resources they are able to economically manage more effectively than when they operate alone.

The primacy of relationships between parents and children, as well as between siblings (both brothers and sisters) was made evident in the comments made by the refugees who were interviewed in the project done by Haines et al (1981), as well as those interviewed in our study. The importance of family members (parents, siblings and others) who may be living elsewhere in the United States, in resettlement areas in other countries, or who have remained in Vietnam, is shown by the high volume of packages of material goods and money which are shipped to these family members on a regular basis.

This emphasis on family has been maintained, although in some cases threatened, in the Vietnamese communities in the United States. As will be examined below, it is one of the primary influences on the maintenance of the Vietnamese language.

Another component of the Vietnamese cultural system is the set of values which are inherent in Confucianism. As described by White (1971):

> Confucianism is essentially a code of behavior, stressing order and decorum and based on a sincere wish for social harmony. At its core is filial piety and the well-ordered family; its ideal is a well-ordered state and a well-ordered world. (p. 313)

The five virtues which are upheld as a guide for daily conduct by Confucianism are humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness. Peace and harmony are valued in all relationships (*History and Culture of Vietnam*).

We have already seen how this ethical system has influenced the way in which the extended family is valued. However it also affects the way in which all interpersonal relationships are viewed. These relationships are much more formal for the Vietnamese than they are in American culture, because of the Confucian concept of propriety. In general, the Vietnamese place a high value on decorum, protocol and ceremoniousness in relationships (Dam 1980). Another well-known aspect of Confucianism is respect for elders, which has a strong effect on maintenance of Vietnamese language and culture in the United States.

A final component of the Confucianist ethical system which is particularly relevant for this study is the value placed on learning and the reverence for teachers. In Vietnam, Confucianism has been synonymous with learning (Dam 1980). When Vietnamese are asked to comment on characteristics of Vietnamese culture, "love of learning" is a trait which is frequently mentioned (*History and Culture of Vietnam*). This love of learning is characterized by a deep respect for the learned and their learning, and causes the Vietnamese student to be industrious and dedicated. However, the Indochinese learning style tends to be passive and is based on learning from books rather than practical experience. It has typically consisted of taking notes, memorizing them and reciting them verbatim in class (Dam 1980; *History and Culture of Vietnam*). The Vietnamese students in this country must therefore not only acquire English but adapt to a new learning system as well. The learning method may also affect how English is acquired, with an emphasis on rote learning over the habituation of patterns.

Teachers are revered and respected by both parents and children, and are ranked just below kings and above fathers in the Confucianist system. In the Vietnamese schools students rarely volunteered answers to teachers' questions, either because of fear of "losing face" or because they did not wish to "show off". Even after some schools in Vietnam had adopted French or American educational systems, teachers were still authoritarian and kept their distance from the students. Whatever the teacher said was considered correct, and student disagreement was not an option (Dam 1980).

The emphasis on learning and on respect for teachers has, for most Vietnamese students, been maintained in this country. The Vietnamese are diligent students, and many have made the honor rolls in the high schools in the Washington area. Statements by a Vietnamese student reported in an article in *Education Daily* (September 23, 1983) exemplify the attitudes toward education which are part of the Vietnamese mindset. In his opinion, many of his fellow students (in Maryland), both native-born and foreign, do not take advantage of the opportunities which are available to them in school; they do not care about school, they do not pay attention and are not prepared in class, and they consider school a place to be with their friends rather than a place to study. Reflected in this student's opinions are the values regarding school typically held by the Vietnamese. Other indications of how Vietnamese students are coping in the American school system are reported in an article entitled "A Teacher's View of Vietnamese Students", which was printed in one of the issues of the magazine which is published by the Vietnamese Club at Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia (Wittenburg 1982). The teacher reported that the Vietnamese are conscientious students, and that many of them succeed in their studies as a result of their efforts. He also commented on their desire to learn the language not only in order to obtain social, cultural, educational or vocational success, but because of a "sincere interest in academic learning". Obviously the Vietnamese students, in general, consider their schooling to be extremely important, and behave accordingly. The parents also consider it to be extremely important and, it is reported, desire control of their children's education.

Learning is important not only to those in elementary and high school, but also to older Vietnamese. Those who are older than high school age, and are employed as well as attend school to learn English, spend much of their time studying their English texts at home, when not in school or at work. Two further demonstrations of the value placed on learning occurred in our interviews. One woman, who was a student at a college in Virginia, was grateful for being able to take part in the interview because it provided her with an opportunity to practice her English, and a husband and wife who were both interviewed expressed appreciation because the interview sessions helped them to learn appropriate behavior in interviews.

The Vietnamese students' respect for teachers is a very noticeable characteristic in a typical American school, as it promotes behavior which is in contrast to that of some American students. The Vietnamese students, in general, are well-behaved, quiet and polite in the classroom, and some of our interviewees reported being horrified at some of the behaviors of their fellow classmates, such as talking back to teachers, telling a teacher to "shut up", talking in class, and putting their feet on a desk.

The maintenance of some of these Confucianist values will, of course, be threatened as the Vietnamese in the United States come into contact with conflicting values held by some of their peers, in particular, or Americans in general. In some cases, conflicts within families have already resulted from inroads made by other value systems. It remains to be seen how the Vietnamese values will be maintained in the time to come.

Further, the Vietnamese culture regards hard work as extremely important, not only for students, but for all members. They are, in general, industrious and willing to do things "the hard way" (Dam 1980). As Vietnamese themselves report, they see the unique and positive aspects of their character to be reliance on family, and the ability to work hard (Haines et al 1981).

The value of hard work was expressed in several ways during the interviews done for our study. Some of the subjects reported how much they disliked being forced to depend on welfare assistance at all, even when they first arrived in the United States. They were very anxious to obtain jobs and not be dependent on the government. Many held two jobs, and some were going to school and working as well. Often high school students work while in school. Most importantly for our study of language usage, the Vietnamese generally are diligent in their study of English, reflecting both the importance of hard work and the value on learning.

A final aspect of the Vietnamese character which apparently affects the their attitude toward the maintenance of Vietnamese language and culture is their pluralistic approach to life. The Vietnamese are reported to have the ability to tolerate more than one absolute standard for any aspect of life, to be comfortable only with assortment and combination, to have a strong leaning toward eclectic adaptations, and to have a high tolerance for both forms of a dualism (Dam 1980; History and Culture of Vietnam). This is an attitude which may have an important affect on the view towards learning English and maintaining bilingualism.

During the course of the interviews done for our study, a particular attitude toward adaptation to American culture was frequently apparent. That is, many of the Vietnamese expressed a desire for themselves (and their children, if they were parents) to be able to adopt the best of both cultures, Vietnamese and American. This did not appear to be incongruous to them, the mixing of the cultures, nor did they speak of it as if it should be unexpected. This tendency toward dualism was evident in an article written by a Vietnamese university student (Pho 1982). He suggested that the best case of adjustment to life in the United States for Vietnamese youth is that of completely acculturating and assimilating to American culture, and at the same time retaining a significant part of his/her heritage as a Vietnamese, basing values on the best of both worlds.

All of these aspects of the Vietnamese cultural system affect the thoughts and attitudes of the Vietnamese regarding maintenance of Vietnamese language and culture, and the acquisition of English and adoption of American cultural patterns.

Vietnamese Language and Cultural Maintenance

As language is inexorably tied to culture, the factors which contribute to language maintenance may be examined in the light of the factors which contribute to the perpetuation of Vietnamese culture.

The presence of grandparents in the home is one of the factors which seems to promote language and cultural maintenance. Due to the respect for elders as a traditional Vietnamese value, the parents and children in a family, generally, do not wish to disappoint the grandparents by forgetting Vietnamese, or traditions, and may try harder to maintain them in their presence. A member of one family who had been in the United States for seven years reported that they sent their two youngest children to school to study Vietnamese when they discovered that the grandfather was coming to this country from Vietnam, so that the grandfather and grandchildren would be able to communicate. The presence of grandparents also contributes to the transmission of cultural values to the young, because culture is passed on through concrete examples. Vietnamese children learn by observing the actions of their elders. However, because of the extremely busy schedules of many of Vietnamese community members, the lack of time to perpetuate cultural practices and to converse in Vietnamese threatens the maintenance of both. One of our interviewees reported that the amount of Vietnamese which is used in the homes is minimal due to the fact that people are very busy attempting to support themselves, and the children are busy studying, so they spend little time together.

In Chapter Two we described the religious organizations which are a part of the community in Northern Virginia; two Buddhist temples and two Catholic churches. These obviously contribute to the maintenance of the religious institutions as they existed in Vietnam, although some adaptations will probably occur. These institutions also contribute to language maintenance because services, as well as some Sunday School classes at the Catholic church, are held in Vietnamese.

Another religious practice which has continued in the United States is the presence of family altars in the homes of those Vietnamese who are Buddhists. In fact, one source suggested that the absence of these altars in Buddhist families' homes is a clue that the family members have assimilated to American culture. One of the Buddhist practices that would not be continued if an altar were not present in the house is the commemoration of death anniversaries. The full family gathers to mark the date of the death of an ancestor, and the father of the family dresses in traditional Vietnamese costume and leads the rites of the ceremony to honor that ancestor. This is an important event in Vietnamese tradition, and one during which cultural practices and values are transmitted to the young. For instance, reverence for elders is reinforced at this time, as well as the value placed on the family.

An interesting fact regarding the Vietnamese Catholic population in the United States is that while only ten percent of the population of South Vietnam was Catholic, about seventeen percent of the Vietnamese who have resettled in this country are Catholic. One man speculated that this may be because the Catholics in Vietnam were already more westernized and were, therefore, more willing to leave to be resettled in a Western country. This may influence the rate of assimilation to American cultural practices for these families members.

Some Vietnamese holidays continue to be celebrated. Tet, the Vietnamese New Year according to the lunar calendar, is the most important Vietnamese holiday. It is a time for celebration, for welcoming spring, and for families to visit and care for the ancestors' graves. Before Tet, debts must be paid, mistakes forgotten, offenses pardoned and faults corrected. Conflicts and anger are to be avoided, and hospitality and friendship must dominate the three-day celebration. These celebrations have continued in the United States, and some schools which have Vietnamese students have granted them a one-day holiday at this time. During Tet in January 1982, a number of activities were organized by the Vietnamese community. These included a Tet Fair, a Vietnamese Folk Opera, a traditional service to honor ancestors, and special radio broadcasts both in Vietnamese and in English to introduce the Tet customs to the American community (Hoang and Bui 1982). The perpetuation of these celebrations serves to reinforce the values which are inherent in the practices of Tet, such as the avoidance of conflict.

Other holidays which are practiced by the Vietnamese in this country are Buddha's birthday, Soul's Day (a day to honor the dead), and a holiday for children similar to Halloween.

A number of factors specifically promote the maintenance of the Vietnamese language and culture, one of which is formal instruction. Classes for oral and written language skills are held, as well as classes on ethics and Vietnamese history. The component dealing with ethics in one class, for example, emphasizes how to be good to people, how to be polite to teachers, parents, and elders, and how to maintain approved behavior in general. These courses are sponsored by a number of different organizations. The Vietnamese Catholic Church in Annandale holds language classes throughout the year. Others are held during the summer and are sponsored by the Virginia and Maryland Mutual Assistance Associations and the Vietnamese Youth Organization, with the volunteer help of members of the community. The first course sponsored by these groups was held in 1980 in Virginia and approximately 500 students from the whole Washington metropolitan area enrolled. The following year, summer courses attracted approximately 2000 students in Virginia alone, and an additional 300 students in Maryland attended classes there. The students ranged in age from eight to sixteen or eighteen years of age.

Another interesting and innovative approach to encourage the maintenance of Vietnamese among the youth is that of a karate class in Rockville, Maryland in which all discourse during lessons is in Vietnamese.

Because some professionals and business people in the Northern Virginia area are Vietnamese, the language is actively used in some settings, including the shopping areas in "Little Saigon" and the offices of Vietnamese doctors, dentists, lawyers and real estate agents. Also, the drivers' license test in

Northern Virginia is now available in a Vietnamese/English bilingual edition. There are also some Vietnamese speakers working in social services agencies. All of these examples show that it is possible for the Vietnamese to use their native language in some settings outside of their own homes. This is beneficial not only for those who are monolingual speakers of Vietnamese, but also for those who wish to maintain Vietnamese as bilinguals.

A final factor which promotes the continuation of the native language among the refugees is the availability of Vietnamese books, magazines, newspapers, tapes and records at Vietnamese stores in the community. One interviewee reported that there are approximately three dozen Vietnamese papers published in this country, with more that twelve in the Washington area. They include daily, weekly, bi-weekly, monthly and quarterly publications which represent various viewpoints. One of the weekly newspapers began publishing with the immediate concern of explaining to the refugees the methods of sending packages and money to relatives and friends in Vietnam or other resettlement areas. This paper has now expanded to include such topics as United States political news.

Newsletters are also published by organizations in the community, such as the Vietnamese Navy group, one of the Vietnamese high school alumni groups, the Vietnam Foundation (a bilingual edition), and the Vietnamese Parents Association.

All of the factors just described -- the presence of grandparents or elders in the extended family, the celebration of holidays and continuation of religious practices, the offering of Vietnamese language, history and ethics classes, and the availability of items such as Vietnamese foods, newspapers and tapes encourage and contribute to the perpetuation of Vietnamese culture in the community in general. These forces facilitate as well, implicity or explicitly, the acquisition or maintenance of the Vietnamese language among the children, adolescents and young adults. According to one interviewee, the Vietnamese take pride in their language and culture, and tend to preserve them, creating a sense of community pride which goes beyond the family. The perpetuation of these practices aids the refugees in coping psychologically and socially within their new cultural surroundings. Another interviewee reported that, although all Vietnamese refugees want to maintain their culture, it is not an easy task given the pressures of daily life.

We cannot be sure, of course, how long or in what form these cultural practices will be able to continue in the Vietnamese communities in the United States. The amount of attention paid to this issue, and the efforts at preservation already underway, however, suggest that this group may well maintain a strong cultural identity within a pragmatic adjustment to American society. Further studies will be required to trace the future effects of the various factors mentioned on the maintenance of Vietnamese culture and language.

Acquisition of English and American Culture

Although there are varying attitudes among the Vietnamese parents regarding their children's adoption of American culture (especially in reference to particular aspects of it), many parents are resigned to the fact that the children will do so. This is viewed as a natural occurrence, making it easier for them to get along in this society if they adjust to American customs and values. One interviewee said that the parents are "very nice about it". Another stated that Vietnamese want their children to be just like American children, but that they prefer that they keep their own identity as Vietnamese; in the long run that will strengthen them. He also said that the parents want the children to receive from both sides, to be able to speak Vietnamese and gain the benefits of the family, but also to adapt to school and the broader society to gain the advantages available there. This attitude appears to be a result of the characteristics of flexibility and adaptability that have been attributed to the Vietnamese, derived from their tendency toward the acceptance of both forms of a dualism (*History and Culture of Vietnam*). They do not seem to think that their children must be totally Vietnamese, or totally American, but should be able to combine the two cultures.

In the interviews done for our study, the children were asked if Vietnamese parents, in general, are afraid that their children will become too Americanized, and the parents were asked directly if they feared such an outcome. The consensus was that most parents are fearful about these issues. Some of the behaviors which were frequently mentioned in relation to the loss of Vietnamese culture and adoption of American culture were loss of respect for teachers and elders, loss of the Vietnamese language, assumption of American dating patterns, and drinking.

While the Vietnamese youth experience social pressure from family and community members to maintain the Vietnamese language and culture, they also are subject to pressure from their peers to adopt American cultural values, and pressure from the society, as well as from their family, to acquire English and appropriate sociolinguistic behavior. As discussed earlier in this chapter, learning and success in school are highly-valued in Vietnamese culture due to the influences of Confucianism. The strong motivation for success in school and future careers forces many Vietnamese students to learn English quickly. Many spend most of their time when they are not in school in doing homework.

The strong motivation to learn English is also very evident among those Vietnamese adults who are no longer in school, but who wish to acquire jobs, or better jobs if already employed. For example, some came to this country as doctors and dentists, but must pass examinations in English before they are permitted to practice. There is tremendous pressure on the Vietnamese not only to succeed in an abstract sense, but also in a concrete manner, one that will enable them to support their families. For many the financial needs go beyond support of the family members living with them in the United States, extending to financial and material responsibilities for family and friends elsewhere in this country or overseas. Many want to acquire money to enable them to sponsor family members to come to the United States.

In conclusion, the Vietnamese experience social pressure from American society to adapt in this "melting pot" culture by adopting cultural values and learning English. They also feel pressure from their family members, friends and the larger Vietnamese community to maintain the Vietnamese language and Vietnamese values and behavior patterns to, at least, some degree, while achieving success in school and careers. It should be noted that these pressures have resulted in social problems for some of the Vietnamese. For example, sometimes children have acculturated faster than parents, resulting in a disruption of the traditional cultural patterns. At times there are schisms between husband and wife because the husband lacks access to employment which is consistent with his position as head of the family (Haines et al 1981). Other problems include abuse of drugs and alcohol, gambling and the continuation of cultural practices not acceptable or perhaps illegal in the United States (Glaser 1982). While the pressures on the Vietnamese refugees are to some extent unavoidable and expected, they have been quite harmful to some people.

Functions of Vietnamese and English

In this section we will focus on the functions of Vietnamese and English by domain, basing our analysis on the answers given by our subjects to the questionnaire used in the interviews, and on additional comments gleaned from conversations we had with members of the community in the course of our study. The questionnaire included questions about relatives living in the Northern

Virginia area or surrounding regions, friendships, neighbors, and religious or community activities to provide us with insights into the social networks in which the subjects participate. Another section of the questionnaire dealt with language choices according to interlocuters, setting, and topic, and language attitudes. These included such questions as "Do you want to continue to speak Vietnamese?" and "Do parents worry about their children not learning or keeping up Vietnamese?". (See Appendix A for the full questionnaire.)

The functions or domains of Vietnamese and English which will be described below are home, school, and religious environment.

Home Environment. Almost all of the subjects interviewed said that Vietnamese is the language used most often in the home. It was reported to be the language used by the parents or grandparents to the children, with just a few exceptions. The exceptions that were mentioned were that the parents sometimes use English when they are going over homework with their children, or when they take time to practice their own English. Some feel pressure to practice English at home with their children, who can be very good teachers because they are acquiring the language more quickly.

For all age groups, and both groupings according to lengths of residence Vietnamese was more widely used than English in the dyads of child to parent and child to grandparent. However, some of the children in the youngest group who have been in the United States for seven years claimed that they use both Vietnamese and English with their parents. It was also reported that some young children who have lived in the United States for seven years or were born here have not learned or have forgotten Vietnamese.

It appears from these reports that many of the parents are concerned about the issue of their children forgetting or not acquiring Vietnamese. Many of them, as well as some of the young adults, openly encourage the children to speak Vietnamese while at home. One subject reported that she has to speak Vietnamese at home or she cannot watch TV. However, one of the Vietnamese men we interviewed, who has had extensive contact with the community in Northern Virginia, thought that the Vietnamese parents would be concerned about their children maintaining or learning Vietnamese if they had time to think about the issue, but that most do not have the time to do so because of their busy schedules. He also said that, typically, Vietnamese is used in the home with a smattering of English. The English is used when a need arises to discuss things which the Vietnamese do not have words for, such as "microwave oven". But he also thought that the amount of communication in Vietnamese in the home is minimal, which implies that even if it is used, the Vietnamese youth are not being exposed to the whole range of language functions, vocabulary and syntax of Vietnamese.

Another interviewee who has worked in the community reported that some parents try very hard to talk with their children in Vietnamese, but others give up and speak in English with them. There are other cases in which children understand Vietnamese, but respond in English. If the parents in the home do not know English, it is likely that the Vietnamese of the children in those homes will be better than that of those children who have the option of communicating with their parents in English. This interviewee also said that a few families insist on the use of English in the home because they are afraid that the children will become confused at school if they speak Vietnamese at home, and that their school work will be harmed, but there are only a few who do this. She said that they discovered that this approach harmed the children's ability in Vietnamese, as would be expected.

The respect for elders as a strong ethical principle in Vietnamese culture appears to serve as a motivating force for the maintenance of Vietnamese in order to use it with parents, and even more so with grandparents. The older people are reported to "feel much more themselves" if they are able to communicate with the younger Vietnamese in their native language. If the parents and children, or grandparents and grandchildren, are not able to speak with one another, a true communication gap develops. This leads to the feeling among the parents and grandparents that they are not able to pass on their knowledge within the family, and cannot fulfill their traditional roles. They also sense a loss of control over their children and/or grandchildren.

While respect for elders has the possibility of positively influencing Vietnamese language maintenance, there are other factors which hinder it. Obviously the children spend most of their time exposed to an English-speaking environment, at school, with American friends, and watching TV, as well as in other activities of daily life. Secondly, the parents and children actually spend very little time together because often both parents work and some have two jobs.

In the domain of the home, siblings interacting with siblings in the two youngest categories (10-12 and 15-18) use both English and Vietnamese. The older siblings (20-25) when speaking to younger ones tend to use Vietnamese more than English, seemingly as a conscious effort to help them maintain Vietnamese. It does not appear that much translation occurs, for example, an older sibling translating a parent's comments in Vietnamese into English for a younger sibling.

There were several interesting examples of usage of English in the home which were mentioned during the course of the interviews. One was discussed by a 20-year old male who has been in the United States for three years. When asked if he ever speaks English with his parents, he said that he uses English to request permission to go out with other friends, saying that using English in that context is easier because it is an example of something that is American. Presumably Vietnamese would be inappropriate. Some subjects mentioned that they use English to express anger with other siblings either so that their parents cannot understand, or because they find it easier to express their anger in English. Thus, other features of the context influence choice of language as well.

School Environment. In the school domain, obviously, English is the language used between teachers and students. There are some arrangements, however, that provide for the occasional use of Vietnamese. In the Arlington County school system there were, at the time the interviews were done, two resource specialists and two teacher's aides who were bilingual. The resource specialists acted as counselors for the Vietnamese students to help them understand the school system and adjust to it. In some schools, after school hours classes were being held in which a bilingual teacher could assist Vietnamese students who were having trouble in particular subjects like United States history, for example. There are also Vietnamese clubs in the schools which encourage some of those students who have been here longer to help the more recent arrivals with translation and homework.

Within the school context, the language choice situation is complex for Vietnamese peers. Some in the 10-12 and 15-18 year old groups report that they speak only Vietnamese with their Vietnamese friends, others say that they use both languages, and others only speak English. Those in the 20-25 year old group more often say that they only use Vietnamese with their friends in a school or work environment, although joking was mentioned as a context in which English is used.

Based on information obtained through the interviews, we have learned about some distinctions between the refugee students who have been in the United

States since 1975, and those who have arrived here more recently after leaving Vietnam as "boat people". These distinctions are reflected in language usage among some of the refugees. Several of those interviewed who have been in this country for 1-3 years said that those who have been here since 1975 refuse to speak Vietnamese with them, and have even sometimes denied that they are Vietnamese. One subject said "They pretend they don't know how to speak Vietnamese and just keep speaking English."

A similar example of English over Vietnamese was discussed by two of the males in the age range of 20-25, both of whom have been here since 1975. They said that when they speak in Vietnamese to some of the young women who are slightly younger than they are, and who have also been here since 1975, the women respond in English. However, they know that the females understand Vietnamese and that they speak it with each other. In each of these cases, it appears that English is used to maintain or create distance between the groups involved.

Religious Environment. In the domain of religious meetings and celebrations, language usage is basically dependent on setting. Many of those interviewed attend either the Vietnamese Catholic Church in Northern Virginia or one of the Buddhist temples (in Virginia and in Washington, DC). In each of these, services are held in Vietnamese. In the other activities held in the church, such as holiday celebrations, Vietnamese tends to be more widely used than English, presumably because the parents and grandparents are present. Some, however, reported that the young people speak English among themselves in that environment.

There are also Sunday school classes in both Vietnamese and English in the Catholic church. Sometimes even in the Vietnamese classes, the students respond in English. One subject said that he likes the English class better than the

Vietnamese class because in that class the students discuss their beliefs about God and other topics. Given the tradition in Vietnamese culture of strictly adhering to what the teacher says, this type of discussion would presumably be inappropriate in Vietnamese.

In summary, Vietnamese is the language used most consistently in the home environment, except between younger siblings in some of the families, Vietnamese is predominant in the religious environment, and English is more widely used in school, although there are restricted occasions when Vietnamese is used. In addition to these environments, other activities of daily life (such as shopping, public transportation) would require interaction in English, unless other Vietnamese speakers are involved.

In light of the preceding observations, we can examine the prospects for maintenance of the Vietnamese language in the community. A useful comparison may be drawn with the Korean community in Los Angeles. According to a recent study (Kim et al 1981), Korean language maintenance has been promoted by a number of factors, several of which we find hold in this Vietnamese community as well. One feature promoting maintenance is the fact that the majority of the group comes from a privileged background in terms of education and social prestige. They are determined to attain the goal of maintenance of the native language and culture, and they have the means to organize and promote language maintenance. A second factor is that community members are very conscious of their own ethnic identity and realize that they cannot simply blend into the so-called American "melting pot". This aspect was discussed in some of our interviews as well.

During the course of our interviews, several people offered opinions on the future of Vietnamese. One interviewee speculated that Vietnamese will be maintained in the community as long as those who are now middle-aged are still living. Another guessed that the Vietnamese children who are now in the United States will be able to maintain Vietnamese for another twenty years.

It is difficult to predict the end result of the operation of all of the factors influencing language maintenance and shift in this Vietnamese community. Some of the factors that may promote maintenance of Vietnamese are: (1) the educated background of many in the community, (2) the strong sense of ethnic identity and the pressure to maintain their own Vietnamese identity in an area where many other Indochinese live, as well as other internationals, (3) the highly positive attitudes on the part of many of the Vietnamese toward their own language and culture, and (4) the conscious desire on the part of many to keep the best of Vietnamese culture and the Vietnamese language, as well as adopting the best from American culture and learning English.

Those factors that may hinder the maintenance of Vietnamese are: (1) the pressure on the youth to spend many hours studying in English, (2) the pressure on parents to learn English to be able to work to support their families, (3) the lack of time that parents and children have to spend together, and (4) the pressure that some of the Vietnamese youth feel to totally reject their own culture and language.

Because of the positive attitudes toward Vietnamese, and the other factors contributing to its maintenance, the language may be maintained longer in this community than has been the case in some other immigrant situations. However, this group is under different pressures than many of the previous immigrants were because they are not from a European background, they are refugees with no option to return and are required to acclimate abruptly to the changes in their social and cultural environment. Because of its uniqueness, further research should be done to determine the outcome of these factors on language maintenance and shift in this community.

The Effects of Social Networks on Language Usage and Language Maintenance

In recent years sociolinguists have become increasingly interested in investigating the relationship between a speaker's social network structure and his or her language behavior. In a study done by Milroy and Margrain (1980) it was found that, in general, loyalty to vernacular language norms correlated positively with level of integration into a localized network. More dense and multiplex networks had a greater capacity to impose norms on individuals than did less dense and less multiplex ones.

In the light of these findings we will discuss the language behavior, attitudes, values, and social networks of four of the Vietnamese families in Northern Virginia, and try to discern whether or not their amount of involvement with the Vietnamese community correlates with their language behavior and language attitudes. Interviews have been conducted with at least two members in each of the families. The first two families to be described had each been in the United States for about seven years at the time of the interviews. The following two families had been here for two to three years. These particular families were chosen from our sample because some seemed to be more integrated into the Vietnamese community (the first in each set) and the others seemed less so.

The first family consists of the mother, father and four daughters - 9, 11, 14 and 16 years old. Interviews were conducted with the mother and the 11-year old. Both parents are well-educated, and the mother now works as a work assistant supervisor, training word processor operators. The family lives in a neighborhood in which there are few Vietnamese, two families three blocks away. They do not have any relatives living in the United States.

Their main contacts with other Vietnamese are through the Vietnamese Catholic Church in Virginia, in which both parents are very active. The mother used to teach Sunday school and language classes, and is now involved in a group at the church (the Legion of Mary) which visits people who are ill or have some other needs. The 11-year old and her two older sisters participate in singing groups at the church. The family also attends an English-speaking church.

In the interviews, both the mother and daughter said that they have both Vietnamese and American friends. The mother's American friends are her ex-boss and neighbors, and the daughter's American friends are those at school. Her Vietnamese friends are those at church.

In terms of language usage, the 11-year old reported that at the church most of the children under sixteen or seventeen speak English while those who are older speak Vietnamese. Her Sunday school class is taught in both languages. At home the children in this family are very much encouraged to speak Vietnamese. It is this 11-year old subject who reported, "We have to speak Vietnamese. If we don't, we can't watch TV, or play with our friends until we speak Vietnamese, but sometimes we forget and we speak English." Later she admitted that she and her sisters usually speak English with each other. The mother said that if they speak English to her she acts like she does not understand them. She tells them that whenever they speak to Vietnamese friends, older people, and people at church they should speak Vietnamese. However, she admitted that English is now like their native language, but said they should speak both, and she believes it is better to be bilingual. Her approach encourages the children to adjust to both cultures. She told them that they can adjust to life here, and to adapt to the good customs here, but not to over-enjoy or over-do it.

In summary, this family does not have Vietnamese neighbors or relatives in the area, but are very involved in the Vietnamese community through the Catholic church. The parents seem to work at keeping Vietnamese as the language of the home, and encourage their children to use it whenever speaking to Vietnamese people.

The second family consists of the mother, and four children, three boys (16, 15, and 11) and one girl (8). All but the 8-year old girl were interviewed. They seem to differ from the first family described in that they are not involved in the Vietnamese community very much. This family has lived in the United States for seven years, but in Virginia for only one year. They have no relatives in the area, and no Vietnamese live in their neighborhood. All three of the children interviewed want to be doctors (one said possibly a lawyer), and they all spend a lot of time studying. The 15-year old is in a math and a French club at school, and the 16-year old was in the National Honor Society and the Math Honor Society. The youngest has one Vietnamese friend and the rest are Americans, the 15 and 16-year olds have both American and Vietnamese friends. The mother did not talk much about friends, except to mention her sponsor in Pennsylvania, and a newly-arrived Vietnamese family which she helps. She had just started to take English classes at the time of the interview. The family members sometimes attend the Vietnamese Buddhist temple.

All three children said that they speak Vietnamese with their mother. The two oldest said that they prefer Vietnamese and use it with their Vietnamese friends and siblings as well. The 11-year old said that he uses mostly English with brothers and sisters, but on special holidays he likes to speak Vietnamese with his brothers. The mother always speaks Vietnamese with Vietnamese people. When she started taking English classes she began to spend about two hours a day practicing English with her children.

The children in this family did not seem to be aware that Vietnamese parents worry about their children losing Vietnamese. The mother, however, said that her brother had moved to Canada before she came to the United States, and he began to make mistakes in his letters in Vietnamese. She remembered that when she came to this country, and so she tried to speak in Vietnamese to her children.

These two families seem to differ in their attitudes toward maintenance and use of Vietnamese, although their language behavior seems to be about the same. The first family overtly emphasizes the value of speaking Vietnamese, that it is better to be bilingual, that Vietnamese people want to be spoken to in Vietnamese, and that they are proud of their language. The mother of the second family said during the interview that she needed her children to speak Vietnamese, apparently because she did not know English well before that time, but it seems that this was a practical approach rather than one based on values and attitudes about language choice. When she started to study English she also started to practice it with her children about two hours a day, and she was apparently not worried that this action would influence their ability to maintain Vietnamese. It seems that the motivation for her behavior was partially economic, as she has four children to support and needs to be able to obtain a better job. Another difference between these two families is the amount of contact with the Vietnamese community. Perhaps much more involvement on the part of the first family is related to their positive values and attitudes toward maintenance of Vietnamese as part of their ethnic identity.

The last two families to be described have been in the United States two and three years, respectively. In the first family interviews were conducted with the 21 and 25-year old daughters and the 16-year old son. Their mother also lives with them, and the older daughter has a daughter who is three and one-half years old. She and her daughter do not live in the same apartment with the rest of the family, but live in one in the same building complex. They live in an area in which there are many refugees, although not many Vietnamese families live close by. This family is also involved with the Vietnamese Catholic church. The son sings in the choir, and the youngest daughter is in the Legion of Mary. All three siblings have mostly Vietnamese friends, but the brother has some American friends and one Central American friend as well. They have no relatives in the area, except for an older brother attending a school in Maryland. Both the 21 and the 16-year olds have been involved with the Vietnamese Club in high school. All three siblings appear to work hard at school, and want to go on to further schooling.

In terms of language usage, all of them said that they use Vietnamese at home, and that they want the oldest daughter's child to speak Vietnamese. They are all aware of young children growing up without learning Vietnamese and do not want that for her. With Vietnamese friends, each subject uses Vietnamese, unless either Americans are also involved in the conversation, or the interlocutors do not know Vietnamese. The 21-year old said that if she used English with a Vietnamese person who had been here only a short time, they would not like it. It would make them feel sad, and they would think that she forgot everything about her country.

The last family to be described includes the mother, father, six children from 9 to 20 years of age, and a grandmother. Interviews were done with the father, the 20-year son, and the 16, 12 and 10-year old daughters. The father was a doctor while in Vietnam, and was at the time of the interview taking a medical technician's course in order to take a test to obtain a license to practice. He had taken English classes for one and one-half years. He also had worked part-time for two years for an Arlington County newspaper, and the mother works as well. The oldest son is studying at a computer learning center. Their neighbors are mostly Americans, and they have some contact with them. They also have some cousins who live close by. The father said that his friends are mostly Americans. The 20-year old said about half of his friends are Vietnamese and half are Americans. The 16-year old's friends are mostly Vietnamese, while those of the youngest are all Americans. There is only one other Vietnamese student in her school. The 12-year old said she used to have mostly American friends but now she works most of the time, and appeared not to be very concerned with friendships. She reported that some of the Vietnamese students she knows, who have been in the United States a long time, pretend that they do not know how to speak Vietnamese and just keep speaking English. Some members of the family go to the Vietnamese temple.

Some of the comments which the father made during the interview were particulary revealing in terms of attitudes toward adjusting to life in this country. When explaining why he does not allow his children to watch much television, instead wanting them to study, he said "Because it my family just come to U.S. about three years. I know the important is the language. We have to study more and more and more, and adjust the life." The family puts a lot of emphasis on studying and the father said he does not have time to talk much about customs in Vietnam, to teach his children how to write Vietnamese, or to be involved in community or religious groups. He seemed intent on learning American customs and English. He reported that at home he tries to speak English with the children and with his wife, but, of course, speaks Vietnamese with his mother-in-law. He also said that the children would not attend Vietnamese language classes in the summer because they have to go to summer school. The 20-year old said that he usually speaks Vietnamese at home, but sometimes uses English if he has difficulty with Vietnamese. The 16-year old said she usually speaks Vietnamese with her parents, and mostly English with her siblings. The 10 and 12-year olds said they speak both languages at home.

It does not appear that the parents in this family push their children to keep up Vietnamese very much, although one of the children said that her mother worries about it. The 10-year old did say, however, that she wants to keep up her Vietnamese so that she can talk to her grandmother when she comes from Vietnam.

Again, these two families differ in the value they place on the Vietnamese language, and their attitudes toward its use. The first family insisted that they want the older daughter's little girl to grow up speaking Vietnamese, and said that she would be able to learn English quickly enough when she goes to school. The second family seemed much less interested in maintaining Vietnamese amd were not very concerned about its value in relationship to their ethnic identity. This discrepancy does not seem to be based on differences in educational goals because the members of both families are highly motivated in school. However, goals related to employment influence the behavior of the father in the second family. He needs to do well in English in order to obtain his license to practice as a medical lab technician, and is intent on reaching that goal. Again there is economic motivation; he has a family of six children. As was the case with the first two families described, the family in this set which is more integrated into the Vietnamese community is also the one which places a higher value on maintenance of Vietnamese. Of course, the last two families described use Vietnamese, in general, more that the first two because of the difference in length of residency in the United States.

In summary, the two families which are more involved with and have closer contacts with the Vietnamese community value more highly the use of Vietnamese and have more positive attitudes toward Vietnamese than do the two families which are less involved with the community. A partial explanation seems to be economic motivation. It may also be, however, that closer contact with the community exerts pressure on individuals and families to conform to norms of behavior, in this case maintenance of Vietnamese, and positive attitudes and values regarding Vietnamese. For the two families which are more integrated into the community, Vietnamese seems to be an important factor in their ethnic identity. Finally, we may hypothesize that such maintenance of Vietnamese will affect to some extent the form of the English that complements Vietnamese language usage. This aspect will be seen in the descriptive chapters that follow.

CHAPTER FOUR

Selected Structures of Vietnamese English: Grammatical Characteristics

Introduction

In this chapter, we begin to consider some specific language features observed in the speech of members of the Vietnamese community. The examination of particular structures provides the key to our consideration of several basic questions. First, the Vietnamese community provides a model case of one ethnic group suddenly transplanted into a surrounding second language context, an English-speaking society. The influences of various forces at work in such a sociolinguistic situation demonstrate the dynamic process of linguistic integration. These forces and their effects can be examined through a close inspection of particular linguistic features. Second, the description of language patterns provides the basis for approaching matters of educational concern, and we will turn our attention to these issues in a later chapter. Finally, once we have completed our overview of a number of grammatical and phonological structures, we can look to those results for insight into one of the central questions we are posing: what is the nature of the variety of English that is emerging within the Vietnamese community in the United States?

Any attempt to account for the linguistic patterns in a language variety such as Vietnamese English must consider the dynamic dimensions of the language contact situation in which the variety is situated. That is, it is not enough to describe the language features as they appear in the speech of the subjects in our sample, although this step does of course provide valuable information. Rather, it is important to view the features within their historical, social and linguistic context, and to assess the role of these various forces as they mold the variety of English that is evolving in the community. We have previously examined the historical and social background of the community (Chapter Two) and the evolving language attitudes and language usage patterns (Chapter Three). We can extract from that discussion the factors that shape particular language structures within the variety and suggest ways in which those factors may have interacted to produce the data observed. Wolfram et al (1979:26) summarized the approach:

> A dynamic perspective, then, is concerned not only with the potential sources influencing the system, but how different sources may have been molded into the current code. There is an identification and selection dimension which must be considered in accounting for the system. The essential questions focus on where the structures have been derived and how they are being used in the variety at this point.

Our first step is to identify, in a general way, some of the forces which may have influenced particular structures in a system like the English variety in the Vietnamese community under consideration, a variety which we will for convenience refer to simply as Vietnamese English (VE). (In so doing, however, we do not attribute any particular *a priori* status to the term or its referent; it is simply a convenient shorthand reference to the variety of English under discussion.) The structures we will be most interested in will be those which "diverge" from Standard English (an idealized mainstream English variety which serves as our basis for comparison), since these are the features which will serve to characterize the variety and which will ultimately figure into a discussion of educational concerns.

The first influence on the English variety that comes immediately to mind can be termed *source language transfer*, or the effect of the native Vietnamese language system on English structures. In a language contact situation such as this one, we can expect this influence to be an important one for two reasons.

First, the immediacy or salience of the Vietnamese language remains high. A large majority of community members were born in Vietnam and for most, their native language was Vietnamese. That is, as an immigrant group, the community is still in its early stages and is to a great extent still made up of "first generation" members. Second, if we compare the two languages, English and Vietnamese, we find areas of extreme structural difference which we might predict would have some effect. Such a prediction follows from the "contrastive analysis hypothesis" which would suggest: if the source language, L1, (Vietnamese) and the target language, L2 (English), are compared systematically, the points where they differ are likely places for a form from L1 to occur in L2. While it is true that transfer of this type occurs, we must be careful to qualify this expectation since it is not true that every point of difference inevitably means a point of transfer. Instead, we may simply look to transfer as a possible explanation once we have identified an area of difference.

A second general area of influence on the resultant English variety is target language adaptation. This alternative explanation recognizes that divergence is not solely a product of differences between L1 and L2 but it may also result from general language learning strategies combined with the particular structures of the L2. In the case of English as an L2 in particular, there has been considerable research in recent years which has documented that speakers from a wide range of L1 backgrounds tend to behave quite similarly in the production of certain English structures. In other words, the responsibility would appear to lie in the process of language learning and the structure of English rather than in contrastive differences between English as L2 and the various native languages. As Selinker (1974) has observed, there are "strategies of second language learning" which relate to language acquisition in general, independent of any native language. These principles interact with aspects of the structure of an L2 to produce areas of likely divergence for learners.

The strategies that produce differences are quite like those found in first language acquisition. One process that can often be observed is rule generalization, where a rule is applied in cases outside its range of application according to target language norms. For example, the English past tense formation rule calls for the addition of a suffix to mark past tense and past perfect aspect for many verbs. There are certain verbs which do not follow this pattern, the so-called "irregular" verbs. If a learner of English learns the rule for past tense formation and applies it to some irregular as well as the regular verb forms, the strategy of "rule generalization" has come into play. (e.g., singed for sang or sung, teached for taught).

For both of the sources of variation described up to this point, the account stems from the basic language learning situation. A question might arise as to the importance of such factors for members of the community who now are, or those in the future who will be learning English as a native language. Although it is certainly possible that some proportion of the community will be learning English as an L2 for a long time to come, it is likely that the number will steadily decrease. The forces described here as influences on the language pattern will continue to be important considerations, however, even as the sociolinguistic situation progresses into another phase. It is quite possible that some of the structures that evolve in response to those forces might become fossilized within the VE system. On an individual level, fossilization refers to

> those aspects of transfer or general modification which are maintained more or less permanently as a part of the speaker's production of L2. That is, the divergent forms persist long after the speaker has gone through the transitional process of learning the L2 system (Wolfram *et al* 1979:33).

At the level of the emerging variety of English, certain patterns which result from the influences here described may remain to characterize the variety of English that will be spoken by future generations of VE speakers. It is precisely in this application, in fact, that an explication of the source influences may assume its greatest significance.

A final general area of influence that we might identify is *non-mainstream dialect diffusion*. We can expect neighboring varieties of English to serve as the model for the developing language in a community like that of the Vietnamese. When these varieties come from non-mainstream communities, however, the resultant diffusion may lead to the establishment of nonstandard patterns in the emerging English variety. This type of diffusion is not at all uncommon in immigrant communities, since, in American society, ethnic minorities typically have greater contact with other non-mainstream groups. Given the higher frequency of contact that may occur, the adoption of nonstandard linguistic forms by immigrant groups is not surprising. This process of dialect diffusion is, of course, a normal part of any natural language that is inherent in its dynamic nature. While it affects an English variety like VE in a community where another language plays an important role, this influence, unlike the other two previously considered, is unrelated to the bilingual situation.

There are other factors which we will need to consider in accounting for the features of VE, but these three general areas of influence cover the predominant forces that operate in a sociolinguistic situation such as this one. This approach to establishing sources of influence is discussed in much greater detail by Wolfram et al (1979), along with criteria for justifying a particular explanation for a language feature. The present study follows the principles set forth in that discussion.

Before we move on to the description of particular VE language structures, we should offer some brief comments to qualify the preceding discussion. It is important to remember that a dynamic and rapidly changing sociolinguistic situation is complex both socially and linguistically and explanations of the reasons underlying a particular phenomenon will be equally complex. The sources of influence mentioned are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. Other alternatives will undoubtedly need to be added to the list as actual phenomena are considered. And we can expect two or more influences to converge at times in producing a pattern, so that it will not be possible, or desirable, to separate out their effects. For example, a feature of Vietnamese may correspond to a divergent pattern, making transfer a reasonable account, but the pattern might also reflect a form of generalization. In such a case, we would not want to be forced to choose between the explanations, since an accurate picture requires recognition of the convergence of the two factors. The complexity of the situation will become apparent as we consider a number of grammatical and phonological structures in the sections that follow.

In the remainder of this chapter and the two chapters that follow, we will describe some of the features of VE. The descriptive facts will be presented along with comments on the likely sources for the features. The account is necessarily selective, but it is intended to be representative of the full range of phenomena whch might be treated.

The Noun Phrase: Plural Marking

Plural marking for nouns is an area of variability for many native varieties of English. It is also a feature which has widely varying manifestations among languages of the world. The variable marking of plurals by the speakers in this sample is thus not surprising and the process will be examined in some detail here.

The plural morpheme in English is one of a set of grammatical inflections that represent grammatical relationships rather than semantic content *per se* (others include the possessive marker and the past tense verb suffix). Studies of language acquisition have documented that such inflectional morphemes are acquired at various points in the learning process, some earlier than others. On the basis of the language learning context of VE, then, we would want to examine plural usage.

In addition, facts about the Vietnamese language would indicate that language transfer might converge with generalized language learning strategies to produce variability in plural marking. The Vietnamese language does not use the strategy of suffixation to mark grammatical structures. In the case of plural, markers precede the nouns and provide indications of other semantic characteristics associated with the noun in addition to plurality, such as definite/indefinite and membership in particular noun classes. Thompson (1965) observes: "Vietnamese nouns do not in themselves contain any notion of number or amount. in this respect they are all somewhat like English mass nouns such as *milk*, *water*, *flour*, etc." (p. 193). Thus, whether singular or plural semantically, the form of the noun in Vietnamese does not change:

1. a. *bàn* 'table' : *hai cái bàn* 'two tables'
   b. *ghê* 'chair' : *các ghế* 'the chairs'
   c. *giấy* 'paper': *nhũng giấy* 'papers'

Most nouns in Vietnamese in fact occur with classifiers of various sorts (like those phrases used with mass nouns in English to make them countable; as in a piece of wood (*a wood) or three grains of rice (*three rices)). Since this general feature of the native language parallels in some ways the behavior of a subset of the nouns of English, Vietnamese learners of English may be led to assume that all English nouns should be treated like mass nouns; that is, using structures like they need chair in situations where either a chair or chairs could be used. (National Indochinese Clearinghouse n.d.:22).

Plural usage varies widely in the sample under consideration here. In the speech of a number of speakers, we find instances of plural marking which differ from the structures of standard English. The major types of plural marking differences are: (1) absence of the regular plural suffix, such as two little brother and two small sister (16:2) or a few month (32:16); and (2) nonstandard usage of the plural suffix, such as do my homeworks (60:18) or one dollars or two (16:14). These types will be discussed separately below.

Plural Suffix Absence. The regular plural suffix in English, like the ending representing possessive marking and third person singular present tense verb agreement, actually involves a choice among three distinct forms. The selection among these forms depends on the final segment of the word to which the suffix is attached: if the final sound is /s,z,š,ž,č,ǰ/, the form of the suffix is /Iz/ as in losses, ridges; if the final sound is any other voiceless consonant, such as /k,f/, the suffix is /s/, as in sticks, giraffes; for all other final /z/ as in sounds, such as /b,r,n/ and vowels, the suffix is /z/ as in signs or parties. In this VE sample, we observe cases where a plural noun is used but the suffix is omitted, such as those in (2). In these examples, and all others that are cited from our data base, the numbers in parentheses indicate subject number followed by the page number of the typescript on which the example occurs.

2. a. They say many thing___. (47:17)

   b. I can speak three different language___.(60:2)

   c. I'm scared of cricket__now (5:20).

All forms of the suffix may be omitted, as shown in (2): /z/ in (2a); /Iz/ in (2b); and /s/ in (2c). The extent of plural absence varies widely among the speakers in the sample, from 0% (no plurals omitted) for subject 70 to over 90% for subject 91. We will consider the differences between individual speakers later.

Most studies of plural absence have concluded that it is a grammatical process (Wolfram 1971; Wolfram et al 1979), that is, that the suffix as a grammatical form is omitted in a particular instance independent of the surrounding sounds. In this sample, however, there appears to be a phonological dimension to the process. The influence can be observed by examining the rate of plural absence in different phonological environments, shown in Table 4.1. The breakdown reflects the different forms of the suffix (/s/, /z/ or /Iz/) and the phonological features of the following environment. In the table, a following consonant is indicated by ___C (e.g., birds fly), a following vowel by ___V (e.g., two years ago) and a following pause by ____// (e.g. friends ##). The tabulations are further divided into two groups of speakers--those who have been in this country more than vs. less than 4 years--since the overall rate of plural absence differs quite significantly between the two groups (20% vs. 51%).

Table 4.1 shows a fairly consistent influence of the following environment on plural absence. With one exception (the suffix /s/ for the 4-7 year group), plural absence is least before a vowel, increases before a pause, and has its highest levels before a consonant. The effect of the form of the suffix is not

	Following Environment							
Form of Ending	___V		___##		___C		Total	
/z/	46/109	42%	130/238	55%	55/91	60%	231/438	53%
/s/	8/25	32%	37/81	46%	16/29	55%	61/135	45%
/Iz/	-	-	6/10	60%	6/6	100%	12/16	75%
TOTAL	54/134	40%	173/329	53%	77/126	61%	304/589	52%
			(a) 1-3 years in US					
/z/	24/176	14%	60/302	20%	40/169	24%	124/647	19%
/s/	9/46	20%	20/74	27%	13/54	24%	42/174	24%
/Iz/	0/11	0%	3/37	8%	3/15	20%	6/63	10%
TOTAL	33/233	14%	83/413	20%	56/238	24%	172/884	19%
			(b) 4-7 years in US					

Table 4.1. Plural Absence by Form of Suffix and Following Environment

clear, since the order of the suffixes with respect to degree of absence is reversed in the two groups of speakers.

A striking difference, in fact, can be seen between the two groups of subjects when the /Iz/ form, the "long" form of the suffix, is isolated from the other two forms. Among those subjects who have been here less than four years, the suffix is omitted at a high rate, more than for the other forms. In contrast, the rate of omission of /Iz/ for the other group is the lowest of the three forms. We can account for this difference by considering general acquisitional strategies for English. Learners of English typically acquire the long form of the suffix last (Berko 1958; Larsen-Freeman 1978). Once all the forms of the regular plural morpheme are acquired, however, the long form is the least likely to be deleted because of its different phonological status and salience (as a separate syllable) in combination with other morphemes. Thus, it would appear that the difference noted here between our two groups of subjects reflects the acquisitional pattern for plurals, with one group in the process of acquisition and the other in a post-acquisitional stage. The possibility that plural absence might be conditioned phonetically is further indicated by the tendency observed toward the simplification of sequences of consonants among VE speakers (see Chapter Five), although sequences ending in /s/ or /z/ are less often simplified than sequences ending in stops. In short, the evidence suggests that phonological factors contribute to plural absence in VE.

There are several ways in which the non-phonological nature of the process is demonstrated as well. One is the difference in the amount of /s/ or /z/ absence depending on the grammatical function of the sound. When /s/ or /z/ are the final sound of a word and not a grammatical suffix (as in chance, horse, or maze), the sound is less likely to be omitted than when it represents a suffix. Among the suffixes it can signal, the third person singular present tense ending (as in it moves, she walks) and the plural are compared below in Table 4.2.

	%Plural Absence	% 3rd Sing. Absence
1-3 years	51%	94%
4-7 years	20%	44%

Table 4.2. Frequency of Absence of Two Inflectional Suffixes

These figures clearly show a much higher rate of /s/ and /z/ absence for the present tense ending than for the plural. It appears, then, that grammatical function influences the level of absence.

There may as well be other non-phonological aspects of the linguistic environment that contribute to plural absence. One candidate that appears to have some effect is the presence of a quantifier modifying the plural noun (two, three, many, a lot of and so on). A preceding quantifier that signals plurality may lessen the need for an overt plural marker on the noun. According to this tendency plural absence in a noun phrase like ten lesson or many week would be more likely than in other types of noun phrases. In the VE sample, the presence of a quantifier before the noun does favor plural absence, although the degree of difference is not very high. The figures are shown in Table 4.3.

Subjects	Quantifier in NP		No Quantifier in NP	
1-3 years	199/361	55%	105/230	46%
4-7 years	88/34	29%	85/580	14%

Table 4.3. Frequency of Plural Absence in Noun Phrases with and without Quantifiers.

In summary, absence of the regular plural suffix in VE appears to be primarily a grammatical process, although it is influenced by phonological factors. The form of the suffix does not make a consistent difference, but the following environment and the presence or absence of a quantifier in the noun phrase both have some effect on the rate of absence.

A final set of observations can be made about the behavior of individuals and age groups in the sample with respect to this feature. The incidence of plural absence for the individual speakers is given in Table 4.4, with the subjects grouped as elsewhere by age group and by length of residence in this country. Although there is considerable individual difference, several patterns emerge. Overall, the rates of plural absence for speakers who have been in this country a shorter time (1-3 years) are much higher than their counterparts who have been here longer (4-7 years). In addition, the older speakers in both categories omit the regular plural suffix more frequently than the younger speakers. This pattern suggests that degree and timing of exposure to English relate to incidence of plural absence. If so, some combination of interference

Length of Residence

Age Group	1-3 years				4-7 years			
	Speaker #				Speaker #			
10-12	11	13/17	77%		5	24/58	41%	
	16	24/96	25%		19	1/100	1%	
	33	41/57	72%		42	2/88	2%	
	34	10/30	33%		70	0/24	0%	
Total				88/200 44%				27/270 10%
15-18	39	17/47	36%		29	1/123	1%	
	47	19/47	40%		50	26/45	58%	
	52	32/49	65%		54	9/85	11%	
	84	14/95	15%		60	8/124	6%	
Total				82/238 35%				44/377 12%
20-25	58	32/36	89%		76	10/49	20%	
	87	25/28	89%		89	20/91	22%	
Total				57/64 89%				30/140 21%
35-55	24	26/33	79%		32	35/44	80%	
	91	51/56	91%		74	37/53	70%	
Total				77/89 87%				72/97 74%
TOTAL		304/591 51%				173/884 20%		

Table 4.4. Incidence of Plural Suffix Absence

from the Vietnamese language and the difficulty of this English structure for second language learners in general would underlie the omission of plural endings. A clear demonstration of this can be found by comparing the speakers in the 20 to 25 year old group: Speaker 58, a 24-year old who has been in the U.S. for two years and speaker 87, a 25 year old who has been here one year, were first exposed to the English-speaking environment at the ages of 22 and 24 respectively and have had one or two years of experience with the language. On the other hand, speaker 76, age 20, speaker 89, age 23, have each been in this country for seven years, making their entry into the English-speaking community while still school-aged at 13 and 16 respectively. The dramatic difference in frequency of plural absence between the two pairs of speakers, 89% vs. 21%, can thus be understood to some extent as a function of the nature of their experience with the English language (and the related degree of interference from their native language).

Irregular Plurals. The English language also contains some forms which do not take the regular plural suffix but have irregular forms that indicate plural, such as children (*childs), feet (*foots), mice (*mouses). In the sample of VE examined, there were no instances of plural absence or nonstandard plural formation among the members of the irregular class.

This pattern is somewhat surprising, particularly since the language acquisition strategy of generalization is typically quite influential in regularizing irregular forms such as these plural. It may be that the irregular plurals that were used were simply learned as distinct lexical items and that the fact that many subjects learned their English in a classroom setting is somehow involved. The irregular forms, in that learning context, are often highlighted and given special attention as particular lexical items, while the rule itself is illustrated by many different words. This factor, or simply a heightened sensitivity to irregular forms in general, might account for the unexpected absence of regularization.

Plural Marking on Singular Nouns. A further observation about plural usage among VE speakers is of interest. It concerns the use of the suffix on singular nouns, as in (3):

3.a. The little one is *one years* old. (70:11)

b. On *the first days* I come to the camp. (52:17)

c. ...about *one dollars or two* (16:14)

This would seem to provide a further indication of the instability of the regular suffix, in that these instances look like hypercorrections; that is, use of the suffix inappropriately, in situations outside those in which it is called for, as a result of a heightened sensitivity about the need to add the endings. It is further interesting to note that speaker 70 had no instances of plural absence, but did produce some forms where the suffix was added unnecessarily (as in (3a)).

Countability and Plurality. One final area of nonstandardness in plural usage involves situations where use of the suffix cannot be determined simply by choosing between "one" (no suffix) and "more than one" (add suffix). This includes, in particular, instances of generic reference, "used to denote what is normal or typical for members of a class" (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:68), where number is not a relevant distinction, but all forms of nouns (singular and plural count nouns, and non-count nouns) may be used depending on the context. For example, in *Raccoons can be vicious*, *A raccoon is a nocturnal animal*, *Sheep are friendly*, the nouns *raccoon* and *sheep* are used generically to illustrate the three possibilities. Non-count nouns in general tend to be somewhat problematic for VE speakers as well, in that a plural suffix is occasionally added inappropriately. The examples that follow illustrate such cases, both the omission of a plural that English structure calls for (4) and addition of a plural ending that is not called for (5):

4.a. I'm scared of cricket now. (5:20)

b. I like apple. (34:15)

c. Yeah, we do play in English but I hate oral report. (50:7)

d. We just celebrate at home just for family, because we have no relative around us (76:7)

5.a. They go down there and find all the golds (16:8)

b. Yeah, I know many peoples. (70:16)

c. But the homeworks were harder (29:4)

d. She having a hard time understanding English and communicating with the other peoples (89:4)

It would appear that some nouns, at least in certain uses, are classified in a way different from standard English groupings, count nouns as non-count (4) and vice-versa (5). The recategorization in the first case, from count to non-count, shows up often for structures with indefinite or generic reference. For these count nouns in English, this type of reference calls for the plural form to be used. However, these nouns are less "countable" than others, in some sense, with this type of reference and so they may be more likely to occur without the plural ending for VE speakers in this context. Of course, it is impossible to establish formally a difference between nouns that have plural absence and those which may have been recategorized, since they look identical. We can simply suggest that recategorization is a clear possibility, given evidence from other sources, such as the addition of plurals in (5) as hypercorrections and the observations about Vietnamese that follow. In the Vietnamese language, all nouns are treated much like English mass nouns, in that their form remains the same in all contexts. Since some English nouns behave like Vietnamese nouns in this regard, certain kinds of structures, like cases of indefinite or generic reference, may encourage alternative categorization of count nouns as non-count for VE speakers. On the other hand, as shown in (5) the reverse also occurs, with English non-count nouns being marked for plural as if they were count nouns.

This general area of countability of nouns and plural marking, with its sometimes arbitrary distinctions, seems to be one of the last aspects of plural to be fully mastered. For example, speaker #70 shows no incidence of plural suffix absence at all, but produces several cases of inappropriate use of the suffix (see 3a, 5b). For several other speakers, the only plural absence that occurred was in structures like those of (4). This particular area of usage, then, may be a more difficult one for VE speakers due to a combination of factors relating to both English structures and the influence of the Vietnamese language.

The situation with respect to plural marking in VE is one of considerable variability. The regular plural suffix is omitted to some extent by many speakers, and there is a significant difference in the rate of absence between our two groups of subjects according to length of time in this country. Irregular plurals, on the other hand, are surprisingly standard in their realizations. Finally, there appears to be a pattern of variation related to the classification of nouns as count or non-count, particularly in the context of generic or indefinite reference. Overall, the nonstandard usage would appear to be a function of general language learning phenomena, although there also seem to be points at which influence from the Vietnamese language may be interacting.

Other Features of the Noun Phrase

In addition to plural marking, there are two other areas of usage related to the noun phrase which should be mentioned. These are possessive marker absence and article absence.

One of the ways in which English marks the possessive relationship (and other derived categories) is through the use of the -Z suffix, the same marker used for plurals and for third person singular present tense verb agreement. This is the phonologically conditioned ending which has three shapes: /s/, /z/, or /Iz/, distributed in the same way as the allomorphs of the plural suffix (see preceding section). The possessive suffix is added to the "possessor" noun in phrases like Jack's bicycle, a mother's love, the college's reputation. In VE, this ending is frequently omitted by some speakers, so that only word order conveys the intended possessive meaning. Some examples from the corpus include:

6.a. It was my grandmother's house but it's half my dad office in front and my mom pharmacy in front and we live in the back. (50:4)

b. I got friends up there, so we stay at a friend house. (53:11)

c. ...my father brother lived there. (16:9)

The absence of the suffix that would signify possession parallels its absence in plural and third singular agreement marking situations. It would appear to be a grammatical process which some speakers exhibit at a high frequency while others show no incidence at all. Given the fact that the Vietnamese language does not utilize suffixes like this to indicate grammatical relationships, and the observation that learners of English tend to omit such suffixes through certain stages in their second language development, the patterns we have described are not surprising. Possessive suffix absence, then, appears to be part of a more general tendency to omit inflectional suffixes to varying degrees as part of learning English as a second language, a phenomenon which is well documented (Dulay and Burt 1974; Larsen-Freeman 1975). Since many of the subjects in the sample who have been in the U.S. over 4 years exhibit possessive absence, the feature is in no way restricted to the early language learning context.

The second area of variable usage related to the noun phrase is article absence. This feature is observable on count nouns of English (such as *book* or *apple*) which in most uses call for either a plural marker (*books*, *apples*) or, if singular, an article (*a book*, *an apple*, *the boy*). There are also a number of other determiners which may fulfill the requirement for an article, such as *this/that*, *each/every*, *whose*, *which*, *my*, *your*, and so on, in appropriate semantic circumstances (*We want that book*, *that's my apple*, *Which boy did it?*). At least one of these alternatives must be included in order to have an acceptable English structure involving these nouns. Otherwise, sequences like **We want book* or **That's apple* result.

Some VE speakers omit articles in constructions with count nouns, producing structures like the following from the corpus.

7.a. You can go out. You don't have to put ___ coat on. (11:28)

b. I have ___ cousin, he live in California. (71:(335))

c. We have ___ big family. We have ___ big house. (58:15)

d. Sometime I get ___ headache because of all the math. (5:5)

The clear cases of article absence are found with count nouns that are otherwise contextually indicated as singular. Since there is a fair amount of plural absence among these speakers as well (see the previous section), some cases are not determinable, such as in (7d) where the intended structure could correspond to either *I get a headache* or *I get headaches*. Other structures, with non-count nouns which *could* have articles or determiners but can also occur without them, are undeterminable as well (for example, *I want cake* is acceptable with a certain meaning, but if it exhibits plural or article absence, meanings like *I want cakes*, *I want a cake*, or *I want the cake* could be intended). Thus, we can be sure that some article absence occurs on the basis of the clear cases, and we can expect that some degrees of absence occurs beyond those. However, we cannot determine precise frequencies of occurrence.

As other studies of second language acquisition have noted (Hakuta 1976; Larsen-Freeman 1976), the article in English is a high frequency morpheme, and this may contribute to its relatively early acquisition by learners. That is, the speech of native speakers will contain many instances of article usage, thus providing a high level of input on this feature to learners. This pattern is, however, also influenced by the native language, and usage in obligatory contexts (or presence of an article when one is required) may not always be appropriate usage. Since the Vietnamese language does not have a system of articles to premodify nouns, we can expect native language influence to affect the rate at which article usage develops. And, we do find instances of inappropriate usage, as in *I'm trying to look for the job* (69:2), where definite/indefinite and related semantic distinctions are less than fully controlled. This aspect of article usage may persist beyond the stage at which articles are being omitted since the relationship between definite and indefinite articles involves some fairly intricate distinctions.

Subject-Verb Agreement

Agreement marking on verbs of English, while not extensive, is still an area where differences among varieties of the language are often found. Learners of English as a second language may also produce nonstandard forms of agreement, and this feature apparently poses a similar degree of difficulty for all such learners, independent of their native language (Krashen 1981). Since the Vietnamese language has no pattern of verb suffixes, the influence of the native language on the speakers in our sample will coincide with the effects of English language structure. These two factors can be expected to converge in producing a pattern of variation from the standard.

The agreement pattern is fairly limited in contemporary English. The distinctions among subjects that may be reflected on verbs are person (first, second or third) and number (singular or plural). Depending on the verb entering into the agreement relationship, differences in form, including but not limited to the addition of a suffix, may correspond to various groups of these features. For example, main verbs such as *come* make only one distinction: the third person singular present tense form is *comes*; the form for first and second person singular and all persons plural is *come*. No distinctions for person or number are made in the past tense (i.e., *came*) for these verbs. The relevant standard patterns will be discussed further as needed below.

Our discussion of subject-verb agreement is divided into two parts on the basis of the type of verb involved; that is, *be* vs. other verbs. This will allow us to give separate consideration to agreement with forms of *be*, where the standard pattern is considerably more involved than it is with non-*be* verbs. For each verb type, agreement marking for both singular and plural subjects will be examined. During this discussion, it is important to keep in mind that "singular" and "plural" are grammatical concepts which do not necessarily correspond to semantic categories; for example the pronoun *you* may be semantically singular or plural, but it follows the grammatical patterns for plural subjects only.

Agreement Marking with be. We will discuss agreement marking on instances of *be* separately, since *be* departs to some extent from the regular agreement paradigm by maintaining some of the distinctions for type of subject from earlier stages of the language. In the present tense, the first and third person forms (*am* and *is*) contrast with the form used for second person singular and all plurals (*are*). Agreement is also marked to some extent in the past tense, where first and third singular subjects share the form *was* and the other subjects occur with *were*. *Be* is the only verb which has distinct forms to show subject agreement in the past tense. The standard pattern, then, has the following configuration (using pronouns as the range of subjects): *I am*, *it is*, *we/you/they are*; *I/it was*, *we/you/they were*.

There are several ways in which a nonstandard pattern is used with *be* by this sample of VE speakers. One is the total omission of the verb in sequences like *the pronunciation very different* (24:16) or *my father in jail* (11:5) which is referred to as "copula absence." This feature is described in the next section. Since there is no agreement marking observable in these cases, they have been omitted from consideration here.

Another nonstandard pattern involves the co-occurrence of forms of *be* with subjects outside their standard agreement relationships. When singular subjects were involved, these VE speakers exhibited no nonstandard forms of *be*; that is, there were no instances of a third person singular subject with *are* or *am*, and so on. The only area of variability with *be*, beyond copula absence, concerned the plural subjects. Examples from the corpus which illustrate the alternative pattern include:

8.a. The kids *is* pretty much grow up. 89:4)

b. My father and mother *is* in Vietnam. (11:5)

c. Two of them *was* spying. (19:28)

d. We *was* trying to tell them. (16:7)

e. There *was* these guys, they were selling like coke...(29:5)

In all of these cases, the nonstandard agreement marking involves a grammatically plural subject occurring with a form of *be* that in the standard paradigm reflects a singular subject (*is* and *was*).

Table 4.5 summarizes the results of our tabulation of agreement for the verb *be* with plural subjects. The subjects in our sample are again divided into two groups according to length of residency in the United States. Further divisions of the sample, into age groups or individual subjects, add no information so they are not included in this tabulation. The occurrences of *be* are separated by tense (present vs. past) and by the type of subject (pronouns, non-pronoun subject and expletive *there*).

Verb Category	Length of Residency of Subjects			
	1-3 Years		4-7 Years	
Present Tense				
Pronoun	1/47	2%	0/105	0%
Non-Pronoun	4/22	18%	4/48	8%
There	10/12	83%	9/19	47%
Past Tense				
Pronoun	12/34	35%	3/54	6%
Non-Pronoun	5/7	71%	1/15	7%
There	3/3	100%	8/11	73%

Table 4.5. Incidence of Nonstandard Agreement Marking for the Verb *Be* with Plural Subjects

As the figures in the table show, subjects who have been in this country longer tend to be more standard in their agreement marking with *be*. In addition, nonstandard forms occur more frequently in the past than in the present tense and with non-pronoun subjects more often than with pronouns. In other words, a structure like *my friends was* would be most likely to occur according to this pattern, followed by *they was*, then *my friends is*, and least likely to occur would be *they is*.

The final category, *there*, shows the highest incidence of nonstandard marking, for both present and past tense *be*. *There* does not really represent a type of subject; rather it represents a structure where the subject and verb of a sentence have been rearranged and *there* fills the subject slot. Thus, a sentence such as *There are some papers on the floor* can be related to a sentence like *Some papers are on the floor*. Traditionally, agreement marking in these *there* sentences has been determined by the subject of the related sentence without *there* (i.e., *there is a cookie left* vs. *there are some cookies left*). There is apparently, however, a growing tendency among speakers of English to use the singular verb forms with *there* in both cases (*there's* $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{a cookie}\\ \text{some cookies}\end{matrix}\right.$ left). This has been demonstrated by extremely high rates of "nonstandard" usage in marking agreement in these cases for many varieties of English, and, more importantly, for speakers who show little or no other nonstandard agreement forms. There are, as well, speakers who maintain the distinction fairly consistently. Thus, the alternative agreement marking may no longer be considered nonstandard, but the pattern of variation remains of interest.

In summary, agreement marking with the verb *be* has alternate forms for plural subjects. The frequency of usage for these forms is higher among speakers who have been in the U.S. three or fewer years. The use of a nonstandard form is favored by a past tense situation, by a non-pronoun subject, and, most significantly, by the expletive *there* structure. The forces underlying this pattern stem from language learning strategies, it would seem. When we compare the two groups of subjects we find quite low rates of nonstandardness for those who have been in the U.S. longer, and in general the pattern compares very closely to mainstream varieties, given that agreement with expletive *there* is apparently in the process of change. The subjects whose time in this country has been shorter show evidence of overgeneralization; that is, they extend the singular form of *be* to cases with both singular and plural subjects. Since *be* is the sole English verb with numerous agreement distinctions, treating it more like other verbs moves toward regularizing the overall pattern.

It is interesting to note, in addition, that the divergence from the standard observed in VE follows the same direction as the nonstandard agreement pattern in some non-mainstream varieties. *There* constructions tend to show the highest level (further support for the contention that these cases should be dealt with separately) and past tense *be* with plural subjects tends to show higher rates of nonstandardness than present tense cases (Wolfram and Christian 1975; Wolfram *et al* 1979). Whether or not any remnants of a nonstandard agreement pattern for *be* will remain to characterize VE in later stages, it appears to conform to the general direction taken by other varieties of English as it develops.

Agreement Marking with Non-be Verbs. With verbs other than *be* in English, the extent of agreement marking in the standard pattern is more limited. Differentiation according to characteristics of the subject is found only in the non-past tenses and it distinguishes only the third person singular from other subjects, giving contrasts like *I, you, they, we want/he wants.* In the case of modals, such as *can*, *will*, and so on, the form remains constant for all subjects. The suffix that is added for third person singular present tense agreement has three phonologically conditioned variants: /s/, as in *walks*, *waits*; /z/, as in *goes*, *loves*; and /Iz/, as in *chooses*, *marches* (As we have seen in earlier sections, these same forms also constitute the regular plural (*hats*, *bones*, *churches*) and possessive (*Pat's* , *Bill's* , *Marge's*) suffixes in English and the distribution of allomorphs according to final sound of the base word is the same for all three grammatical functions.) There are also several "irregular" forms in the third singular agreement pattern - the alternation of *have* and *has* (rather than **haves*), for example, and the vowel change in *do/does*.

For the most part, differences from the standard pattern for VE speakers lie in the omission of the regular suffix with third person singular subjects in the present tense. (Since there is no agreement relationship to be signalled in the past tense, we will be considering only present tense forms here.) Among plural subjects with non-*be* verbs, there are occasional instances of use of the third singular form, as in:

9.a. They *says* they are not Vietnamese people. (84:20)
b. Some of them *doesn't* speak Vietnamese. (5:24)
c. Those people *wants* you to get really busy. (60:22)
d. My parents *has* to put in two, three thousand a year. (54:20)

Fewer than half the speakers in the sample showed any evidence of this usage, and among those, the level of usage was very low (only one to three instances). A number of the cases involved subjects like *people* (as in 9c), or conjoined phrases like *my mom and dad*, which may have been interpreted as grammatically singular. In any event, the low incidence of alternative marking with plural subjects allows us to conclude that for this structure primarily the standard agreement pattern is followed.

A completely different picture emerges when we turn to third person singular subjects. With these subjects, the standard pattern calls for the addition of the regular suffix (modal verbs, since they do not participate in this agreement marking, will be excluded from this discussion). Among VE speakers, there is a significant degree of suffix absence for many speakers, as illustrated in (10):

10.a. My sister like karate. (33:23)

b. She just teach you how to play. (60:27)

c. Sometime the teacher explain the lesson too fast. (87:3)

d. It depend on the character of the other people. (74:10)

e. She have to take care of my little sister. (52:18)

This pattern of suffix absence affects all forms of the suffix--/s/ (10a), /z/ (10c,d), and /IZ/ (10b), and irregular third person forms as well, such as have (10e).

The frequency figures for third person singular suffix absence for the 24 speakers in the sample are given in Table 4.6. The "irregular" verbs are considered separately because their third person singular forms involve more than the simple addition of a suffix. These are have (has), do (does) and say (says). A further special case, don't/doesn't, is singled out as well, since there is evidence from some varieties that it is treated differently in the agreement pattern (Christian 1978; Wolfram et al 1979). For many speakers, we find extensive use of don't with third person singular subjects (e.g. he don't) even though little or no other suffix absence occurs. In order to examine the pattern for VE speakers in light of our understanding of other varieties of English, then, we divide our tabulation into three categories: regular suffix, irregular verbs, and do+Neg (doesn't/don't).

Several observations can be made on the basis of Table 4.6. If we

LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

AGE	Subj	1 - 3 years Regular Abs/T	%	Irregular Abs/T	%	do+NEG Abs/T	%	Subj	4 - 7 years Regular Abs/T	%	Irregular Abs/T	%	do+NEG Abs/T	%
10-12	11	14/14		-		-		5	31/36		3/16		0/4	
	16	43/49		8/10		1/6		19	4/37		0/7		0/3	
	33	26/26		11/11		1/3		42	3/52		0/13		0/4	
	34	14/15		9/9		4/4		70	6/13		1/6		1/1	
	Total	97/104	93%	28/30	93%	6/13	46%		44/138	32%	4/42	10%	1/12	7%
15-18	39	2/2		-		2/2		29	3/16		0/2		0/3	
	47	8/10		-		0/1		50	22/24		1/1		1/1	
	52	36/36		7/8		2/6		54	3/12		0/7		0/5	
	84	13/14		2/4		0/1		60	4/27		0/6		0/2	
	Total	59/62	95%	9/12	75%	4/10	40%		32/79	41%	1/16	6%	1/11	9%
20-25	58	13/15		-		-		76	19/21		1/3		0/2	
	87	20/20		3/3		0/3		89	10/15		1/3		0/4	
	Total	33/35	94%	3/3	100%	0/3	0%		29/36	81%	2/6	33%	0/6	0%
35-55	24	14/17		0/2		-		32	3/3		-		-	
	91	24/24		5/12		-		74	10/10		2/2		0/1	
	Total	38/41	93%	5/14	38%	-	-		13/13	100%	2/2	100%	0/1	0%
TOTAL		227/242	94%	45/59	76%	10/26	38%		118/266	44%	9/66	14%	2/30	7%

Table 4.6. Incidence of Third Person Singular Present Tense Agreement Suffix Omission by Length of Residency, Age Group and Type of Verb

consider the figures for the three categories of verbs established, we notice immediately that the do+NEG consistently shows a considerably lower rate of nonstandard usage than the other verbs. This pattern contrasts sharply with agreement marking in other varieties of English, where don't with a third person singular subject is one of the most common nonstandard forms used. In this sample there were a total of only 12 instances of structures like he don't, while 44 cases conformed to the standard pattern (he doesn't). The irregular verbs show a higher rate of nonstandard forms, but if we examine the individual verbs included, we can gain insight into this category and its relationship to do+NEG. Before going on further to discuss the remainder of Table 4.6, we should examine this group of verbs more closely. It turns out that the verbs are ordered with respect to extent of nonstandard agreement marking, as shown in Table 4.7.

Length of Residency	say	have	do	don't
1-3 Years	93%	76%	43%	38%
4-7 Years	31%	11%	6%	7%

Table 4.7. Incidence of Nonstandard Agreement Marking by Individual Verbs

These figures show that say has a rate closer to that of the regular verbs (shown in Table 4.6), while do and don't exhibit very similar agreement behavior. Thus, unlike other varieties of English, VE speakers treat don't in basically the same way as do, using a nonstandard form of agreement marking relatively seldom compared to other verbs. The irregular verbs, overall, show a fairly strong lexical influence in their agreement marking pattern, in that individual items vary widely but fairly consistently across speakers.

One of the ways we can characterize VE is through placing it in the context of other varieties of English that have been studied. We do so for selected features to demonstrate the similarities and differences that emerge. In each case, our comparisons are limited by the data available on a particular feature. We have alluded above to the differences between VE and other varieties in agreement with this set of verbs; in Table 4.8 some representative varieties are listed with the frequencies comparable to those for VE given in the previous table.

	Verbs			
Varieties of English	say	have	do	don't
Vernacular Black (Fasold 1972)	N/A	53%	63%	88%
Italian-American (Biondi 1975)	43%	29%	27%	58%
Pueblo Indian A (Wolfram *et al* 1979)	2%	18%	19%	60%
Pueblo Indian B (Wolfram *et al* 1979)	0%	4%	0%	50%
Appalachian (Wolfram and Christian 1975)	0%	0%	0%	77%
Vietnamese				
1-3 year group	93%	76%	43%	38%
4-7 year group	31%	11%	6%	7%

Table 4.8. Frequency of Nonstandard Agreement Marking for Varieties of English

The figures in Table 4.3 clearly show that VE behaves quite differently on this point than other varieties. The non-mainstream varieties listed uniformly show highest levels of nonstandardness in using *don't* with singular subjects; the rates of nonstandard agreement vary somewhat for the other verbs, although the three verbs tend to be relatively comparable. The VE figures reflect completely opposite tendencies. We will discuss this characteristic further in a later chapter, but we can suggest here an account for this difference. It appears that VE has a strong orientation toward Standard English in its development; thus, a common nonstandard feature like don't, which is widely attended to because it is so widespread in occurrence, is actively avoided. The use of the verb form with singular subjects is at roughly the same level as do. This low level of don't is especially noteworthy when compared with the rates for have say which are apparently treated much like the regular verbs. We can now move on to consider this regular verb pattern as we return to our discussion of the remainder of Table 4.6.

The process of third person singular present tense suffix absence is quite active among the speakers in this sample, as demonstrated by the rates of nonstandard agreement marking shown for the regular verbs in Table 4.6. They average 94% suffix absence for the 1-3 year group, and 44% absence for the 4-7 year group. There are several points which need to be elaborated somewhat concerning this feature. The first involves a methodological as well as a descriptive question. As discussed at length in Chapter Six, VE speakers often use an unmarked tense in past tense contexts. For example, we find passages like the following:

11.a. My dad brought me a puppy. And then it grow up and then it have babies, puppies... One problem, when we go to the airport and we left the dog home, the baby dog, and it jump out of the window. It died. (34:2)

The underlined forms in the passage are unmarked tense versions of verbs with third person singular subjects in a past tense environment. The question that needs to be asked concerns the status of these forms with respect to agreement marking. In other words, we need to determine whether these instances have any bearing on the discussion of third person singular present tense suffix absence. Some cases of unmarked tense do utilize the present tense agreement marker:

12. When my mom *gets* married, she *goes* and live near my grandmother's house. (29:1)

Thus, there is variation, as in present tense contexts, between use and omission of the suffix with third person singular subjects. In order to determine the relationship of agreement in the two contexts, the incidence of suffix omission in each has been tabulated for four speakers in the sample, who exhibited different degrees of unmarked tense usage. Those figures are given in Table 4.9. The verb category *do+NEG* has been included in the irregular verbs group since, as we have seen above, its behavior mirrors that of *do*. The overall rate of unmarked tense usage is also given for each speaker (see Chapter Six for details).

		Present Tense		Unmarked Tense	
Subject #	%UMT	Regular	Irregular	Regular	Irregular
34	47%	14/15	13/13	91/93	45/45
		93%	100%	98%	100%
39	41%	2/2	2/2	34/37	11/13
		100%	100%	92%	85%
29	11%	3/16	0/5	5/20	0/5
		19%	0%	25%	0%
42	9%	3/52	0/17	6/62	0/20
		6%	0%	10%	0%

Table 4.9. Comparison of Third Singular Agreement Suffix Absence in Present Tense and Unmarked Tense Contexts for Four Speakers

A comparison of the rate of suffix absence between present and unmarked tense instances shows no important differences for these four speakers. Thus, we would expect the overall pattern of agreement marking to remain the same whether or not unmarked tense cases are included. Despite this expectation, however, our tabulations concerning agreement marking have not included the instances of unmarked tense, in order to avoid any confounding of factors that might influence the results (in Tables 4.6-4.8 and those that follow). Based on the limited investigation presented here, though, it would appear that unmarked tense agreement participates in the overall pattern.

Omission of the third singular agreement suffix may derive from a grammatical or a phonological process. Examinations of suffix absence in other varieties of English have shown it to be grammatically-based, and this would appear to be the case for our VE sample as well. There are a number of factors which point to this conclusion. First, as we have seen, nonstandard agreement marking affects both irregular and regular verbs, so that we find cases like she have as well as he get. For have, do, and say, it would seem clear that the suffix has not been added. If it were added and then variably deleted at a phonological level, we would expect forms like ha /hæ/ for has, doe /də/ for does and so on. Second, the regular suffix is used to indicate several grammatical functions (plural and possessive in addition to the third person singular agreement marker) If the process were purely phonological, these endings would all be omitted at about the same rate of frequency. Since they are not (the rate for third person singular suffix omission is much higher than that of plural for all speakers), the process is further substantiated as grammatically-based. In addition, there are no major differences in the rate of omission for the three phonologically conditioned endings (/s/, /z/, /Iz/), a further indication that the suffix is treated as a grammatical entity and is variably added to verb forms. A comparison of the rates of absence for the different forms of the suffix is given in Table 4.10.

A final argument for the grammatical basis comes from the surrounding phonological environment. The following environment (that is, whether the suffix would be followed by a vowel, a consonant, or a pause) had no consistent influence on the frequency of suffix absence. If it were a phonological process we would expect sensitivity to the following phonological context. All of these indicators point to suffix absence for these VE speakers occurring as a grammatical process, as it does for other varieties of English.

Age Group	Length of Residency					
	1-3 years			4-7 years		
	/s/	/z/	/Iz/	/s/	/z/	/Iz/
10-12	42/45	48/52	2/2	21/67	18/61	5/10
15-18	24/25	3/3	4/4	12/32	17/42	3/5
20-25	11/11	20/22	2/2	9/13	19/22	1/1
35-55	17/20	19/19	2/2	3/3	6/6	3/3
TOTAL	94/101	90/96	10/10	45/115	60/131	11/19
%Absent	93%	94%	100%	39%	46%	58%

Table 4.10. Frequency of Absence According to the Form of the Suffix

Several comments related to the intersection of social factors with rate of agreement suffix absence will complete this discussion. Table 4.6 given earlier, shows the rates of absence by individual speaker, grouped by age and length of residency in the U.S. The results displayed in that table suggest that amounts and timing of exposure to the English language are probably the key factors underlying the pattern of variation. The two younger groups among the speakers who have been in this country over 4 years are set apart to a large degree. The older groups in that set show levels of nonstandard marking similar to the values shared by all groups who have been here less than three years. This pattern shows basically that those speakers who began their exposure to English at a young age and have spoken English for a relatively longer period of time (i.e., those under 18 who have been in the U.S. four to seven years) have more standard agreement marking. There remains some significant individual difference, however; speakers #5 and #50 have much higher rates of suffix absence than the other members of their age groups, for example. We would need more background information about the individual speakers to examine the underlying forces more closely. A likely explanation, though, would rest in a variable related to "real" English proficiency. We have arbitrarily divided our sample according to length of residence as a rough measure of acquaintance with English, in the absence of any valid assessment data. While this division will correlate in many cases with level of proficiency, individual differences such as those observed here point out the imperfections in the correlation.

Copula/Auxiliary *be* Absence

The form *be* in English acts as the main verb in sentences like *They are funny*, *I am your friend*, *It's over there*, and as the auxiliary in progressive verb phrases like *is running*, *are stopping* and in passive structures, as in *it is called* or *they are forgotten*. In both uses, *be* is sometimes omitted by VE speakers, as in the examples of copula use in (13) and auxiliary use in (14):

13.a. When a holiday come in, a lot of people___very happy. (26:5)

b. When they born here, their mind___here, it___not in Vietnam. (59:29)

c. And I___almost desperate about it. (74:2)

d. Now he__in Galang too. (78:8)

14.a. I__working for "Journal" newspaper, part-time, on weekend. (24:1)

b. He don't know what he__doing now. (53:13)

c. They___gonna move soon. (65:7)

d. I don't know what that___called. (11:14)

Copula absence is common among learners of English as a second language, and it appears to be a structural characteristic of the speech of most learners in the early stages independent of the native language (Bailey, Madden and Krashen 1974). The frequency of correct usage of the form increases as overall proficiency in the language improves, and the rate of increase is probably related to a variety of factors, including the native language. In the case of Vietnamese, there is no copula/auxiliary be comparable to that of English, with one exception. Structures in Vietnamese containing predicate nouns, such as She is a doctor in English, contain a form which can be equated with the English copula be. Predicate adjective structures, on the other hand, have no overt copula, so that the English He is nice would have He nice as its Vietnamese equivalent. The possibilities for language transfer from Vietnamese into English are thus mixed; there may be positive transfer for predicate noun structures, while interference might contribute to higher levels of copula/auxiliary absence in predicate adjective and other structures with be.

Learners of English as a second language in general acquire the copula be somewhat before the auxiliary be, but both forms tend to be used appropriately at a fairly early stage in developing mastery of the grammatical morphemes of English (Krashen 1981). The speakers in our sample appear to conform to this tendency. Although quantitative analyses were not conducted, it appears that copula and auxiliary be absence occurs at higher levels among those with less exposure to English. There seems to be a high degree of individual variation, however, which complicates any attempt to explain the observed behavior.

Auxiliary *have* Omission

The auxiliary form *have* is sometimes absent from constructions where it might be expected to occur, as in:

15.a. They__been living together for the last two years. (20:9)
  b. I__been working three weeks. (74:2)
  c. I__been to his concert. (44:2)
  d. She___gone to Africa with her mother and father. (34:7)

Auxiliary *have* occurs with the full range of verbs, combining with past participial verb forms as in *have gone* or *have seen*. However, clear cases of its absence in structures produced by this sample of speakers were predominantly with the verb form *been*, as auxiliary (15a,b), or main verb (15c).

Many varieties of English share a process which deletes auxiliary forms under certain circumstances, with higher frequencies more typical of casual speech styles. The omission of *have* in the context of *been* is undoubtedly the most common manifestation of this process. Since the composition of the verb phrase is affected by auxiliary *have* deletion, it may appear to be a grammatical process. However, the omission of *have* has been shown to be the result of a combination of phonological processes (Wolfram and Christian 1976). Auxiliaries in all varieties can be contracted in many cases, as in *I've* for *I have*, and these contracted forms may then be deleted for some speakers, resulting in *I been* for *I've been*. The absence of *have* in the verb phrase is, therefore, due to the operation of phonological rules. Part of the evidence for this line of reasoning comes from the observation that absence of the auxiliary is found only in cases where contraction in standard English is possible. For a sentence like *If they have been there, then we have too*, contraction of the second auxiliary *have* is not allowed (**then we've too*) and neither is deletion (**then we too*).

The first occurrence of have in that sentence is contractable for all speakers and is open to the process of deletion as well.

For our sample of VE speakers, we must consider an additional possibility--that the auxiliary have is in fact not present at all at any underlying level when it is absent from an utterance. Since the Vietnamese language does not employ auxiliary verbs or morphological affixes to signal verb relationships, interference from the native langauge may cause some speakers to omit the auxiliary in the structures under consideration. Similarly, general language learning processes, independent of the native language, may also be a factor. In some cases, this explanation would seem to be the preferred one, for example, in a sequence like that in (16):

16. ...And from Thailand we been transport by the U.S. Air Force to Guam and living there for two months and then we move again to Air Force Base in Florida. And we been there for two months and then everybody get sponsor...(74:12)

It would appear that here been is used on its own as a past verb form or even simply a past tense marker rather than as a realization of have been. On the whole, it is difficult to determine whether individual cases of apparent auxiliary have absence for these speakers stem from second language acquisition factors or from a process of auxiliary deletion common among native speakers of English.

Irregular Verbs

The verbs in English which follow patterns of past tense formation other than simple addition of an -ed suffix can be referred to as "irregular verbs". For some speakers in this sample, we can observe irregular verb forms which differ from what may be considered the standard form, as in (17):

17.a. And then they tell us everything that we done that we didn't do. (34:26)

b. He said that we should've shooked, you know, danced when we were singing. (42:10)

c. They sended us into ESL. (44:5)

These differences from the standard pattern include both the use of participial forms in preterit contexts (17a) and regularization (17b,c) through the addition of the -ed suffix.

The formation of irregular verbs in English is an important parameter for distinguishing mainstream from non-mainstream varieties. These verbs have also been shown to vary considerably among various non-mainstream varieties. For example, speakers of some varieties exhibit extensive use of nonstandard irregular forms of certain types (Christian 1978) while speakers of other varieties have relatively little nonstandard use (Wolfram et al 1979).

The speakers in this study can be characterized on the whole by a relatively low degree of nonstandard usage of irregular forms, if we limit our consideration to the clear cases. Given the other features that affect the verb phrase (unmarked tense and so on), the status of a particular irregular verb form cannot always be determined precisely. For example, the use of They come yesterday could illustrate either unmarked tense or a nonstandard irregular verb form; He gone there could be a case of auxiliary have absence or a nonstandard irregular verb. However, even allowing for such occurrences, the incidence of nonstandardness in irregular verb usage is limited. A factor in this pattern is undoubtedly the role of formal language training in the learning of English by many speakers in the sample. Irregular verbs tend to be high frequency words and would be learned in the classroom context as individual items. Thus the alternate patterns common to some non-mainstream varieties of English would be less likely to arise.

Negation

The marking of negation is a widely recognized locus of variation between mainstream and non-mainstream varieties of English. In many ways this feature has acquired a diagnostic attribute, in that certain forms of negation are popularly viewed as signals of nonstandard as opposed to stanndard speech. Because of this social prominence, it is instructive to examine negation among our sample of VE speakers in order to place the emerging variety of English within the context of other social and ethnic varieties.

One of the most widely noticed nonstandard features of English is negative concord, or "double" or "multiple negation". When this form of negation is used, a negativized verb is coupled with a negative indefinite which follows it (as in _I don't know nobody)_ or less commonly, precedes it (as in _Nothing can't hurt me_). The number of negativized forms is not limited to two, and structures with three or more, such as _I don't want nobody to do nothing nowhere_ can occur. Although earlier stages of the English language used multiple negation as the standard formation, the current prescription against such usage makes it nearly nonexistent in the formal speech of most standard English speakers. There is, of course, nothing illogical or linguistically misguided about having two or more negatives co-occur. For many languages of the world, certain types of negative constructions can _only_ be formed with negative elements at more than one point in the sentence.

The type of multiple negation most frequently observed in non-mainstream varieties is the one in which a negative is marked within the verb phrase and also on indefinites following the verb phrase. In this pattern, the indefinites are made to agree with the verb by copying its negative. The following examples of this process come from our VE sample:

18.a. They *don't* want *nobody* know about them. (11:17)

b. After that they throws you down to your boat there and you *didn't* have *nothing*. (58:23)

c. The school I went to *didn't* have *no* girls. (89:11)

d. ...and we *didn't* have *no* gas or anything. They show us the way that we *don't* need *no* gas and we just row a little. (16:8)

Other types of multiple negation, such as where the negative indefinite precedes the negativized verb phrase (e.g. *nobody didn't see it*), were not observed in the corpus. Thus, only the more common forms of multiple negation are apparently used by these VE speakers.

Multiple negation is typically a variable, rather than a categorical feature. In constructions where negative concord is a possibility (those with one or more indefinites in a negative context), multiple marking need not necessarily occur. A single speaker may produce structures like *We couldn't see anything* as well as *We couldn't see nothing*, and such variability systematically relates to both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. Thus, it is instructive to examine the actual incidence of multiple negation usage in VE in addition to noting its occurrence.

The frequency of occurrence of negative concord for 26 speakers in our sample is shown in Table 4.11. Despite the low number of potential cases for some speakers, these figures indicate quite clearly that multiple negation is not a pervasive pattern in this variety. It occurs in the speech of some speakers (9 of the 24 who had potential realizations of the feature) but its overall frequency is low. In addition, there are no major differences according to the age of the subjects but those who have been in the U.S. longer tend to conform more closely to the standard negation pattern in their speech.

Age Group		1 - 3 years				4 - 7 years			
		Subject Number				Subject Number			
10-12		11	1/3			5	1/6		
		16	5/15			19	0/12		
		33	0/13			42	0/9		
		34	0/13			70	0/3		
	TOTAL			6/44	14%			1/30	3%
15-18		39	1/21			29	0/2		
		47	0/2			50	0/8		
		52	1/13			54	0/6		
		84	0/6			60	0/13		
	TOTAL			2/42	5%			0/29	0%
20-25		27	0/13			76	1/10		
		58	2/11			77	0/17		
		87	1/5			89	2/8		
	TOTAL			3/29	10%			3/35	9%
35-55		24	-			74	0/7		
		91	-			79	0/3		
	TOTAL			-				0/10	0%
TOTAL				11/115	10%			4/104	4%

Table 4.11 Extent of Negative Concord

We can compare this group of VE speakers with other varieties of English where the incidence of multiple negation has been tabulated. As can readily be seen in the list of representative varieties given in Table 4.12, the low frequency of negative concord compares most closely with mainstream varieties of English in the continuum of variation.

Puerto Rican English, New York City	87%
Vernacular Black English, New York City	81%
Appalachian English, West Virginia	62%
Northern White Nonstandard English, Detroit	56%
Pueblo English, New Mexico (Pueblo A)	53%
Pueblo English, New Mexico (Pueblo B)	34%
Upper Middle Class White English, Detroit	1%
Vietnamese English, Northern Virginia	7%

Table 4.12. Comparison of Extent of Post-Verbal Negative Concord for Representative Varieties of English.

In the context of any discussion of nonstandard patterns, we should mention the role of ain't as an alternate form for is not, has not, and so on. This lexical item is perhaps the most widely popular stereotype of nonstandard speech in American English, even though it has little linguistic significance. While ain't is fairly common among a wide range of varieties, it does not appear to be a part of VE. There were no instances of its usage noted in the corpus under discussion. This absence of ain't conforms to the basically standard treatment of negation in general by these speakers, and in all likelihood is a product of the same underlying forces.

There is a further class of negative structures that deserve mention. For a number of speakers in our sample, acquisition of some of the basic grammatical patterns of English is still in process. Thus, we note some sentences where the negation resembles that of stages of acquisition that have been identified for learners of English (Wode 1978), in particular the use of no and not to convey the negative:

19.a. Vietnamese Communist no like America. (73:(092))

b. Sometime I not understand the word. (14:723)

c. I'm not remember that. (11:7)

Such structures were observed only among speakers with generally lower levels of proficiency in English and we can with some confidence attribute their occurrence to language learning processes.

The overall picture for negation among VE speakers, then, is fairly straightforward. Among those in the sample who represent the less proficient speakers of English, negative structures are used which represent pre-final stages in the mastery of this pattern. When the usage is comparable to that of native speakers, the pattern reflects primarily the standard one. There is a very low incidence of multiple negation in the corpus, and the shibboleth ain't is absent. Thus, the pattern of negation acquired and being acquired by this group of VE speakers for the most part coincides with the prevailing standard.

Adverbial Usage

For some speakers, certain adverbs have extended functions, notably before and to a lesser extent after. That is, they can be used in a somewhat wider range of contexts than in Standard English and apparently have a (very roughly stated) general meaning of "in previous time" (before) or "subsequently" (after). Usage in these extended contexts is illustrated in (20) and (21):

20.a. Before they work with just only American people, but now they work with my uncle. (84:9)

b. We live here about three year. Before we live about two blocks from here. (78:(152))

20.c. Before I know Thai language but now I forgot. (27:29)

21.a. We have to write sentences for each of the words. After, we have to write the word five times. Then after, on Friday, we do the spelling test. (42:20)

b. After 1978, OK, they come in, they took all everything from my house. Then they throw us away. After, we moved out in the country to buy another house, a small house. That when we wait there to leave my country. (58:15)

While the meaning of the adverb in each of these cases is clearly related to its meaning in a possible standard usage, the context is outside the standard range.

In all varieties of English both before and after occur as prepositions with time-related objects (before the meeting, after Monday) and as conjunctions introducing clauses (before you leave, after the lights went out). Their use as adverbs is more restricted; they follow what they modify (I never saw them before, several hours before/after) and essentially signify whether the direction from the time referenced is toward the past (before) or toward the future (after).

The expansion of the range of contexts for items like these adverbs is not an uncommon parameter along which varieties of a language differ, nor is it unusual in the second language learning situation, where it represents a strategy of generalization. In the case of these VE speakers, this particular instance of expansion may also reflect a pattern carried over from the native language. In Vietnamese, verbs are not marked for tense or aspect. Verbs "establish only the fact that a particular action, series of actions or state of affairs is in effect. They depend entirely on the linguistic and situational context for their reference to relative time." (Thompson 1965:218) Adverbs contribute to the context which specifies time reference. In VE, tense may be formally unmarked (Chapter Six) and other features may affect the time reference mechanisms for these speakers (consonant cluster reduction eliminating a regular past tense ending). The extension of the adverbs under discussion may in some sense compensate for the possible absence of other mechanisms in English for marking relative time by contributing information about the time reference in effect.

The pattern of adverbial usage, as a case of somewhat subtle semantic variation, would appear to be a candidate for a feature that persists to characterize a developing variety of Vietnamese Engish. The possibility that it contributes to time reference in a non-redundant manner adds to this likelihood, since a prime area for reinterpretation within the variety seems to be in tense marking and related matters. Also, among the group of speakers interviewed here, we observed this usage of _before_ and _after_ by speakers who have been in the U.S. for seven years and are quite proficient in English (an eleven year old who came to this country at the age of four, for example). This would indicate that language learning may play a role in the origin of the feature, but other factors must interact when it persists.

We can only speculate at this point, but it would appear that the area of tense marking and time reference is particularly subject to persistent variation from the standard, perhaps as a result of the combination of the native language influence, the structure of English, and language learning factors. This adverbial usage then would be best viewed as one manifestation of that tendency that may, along with certain others, persist as ao characterizing feature of the variety.

Sentence Structure

There are several aspects of the basic sentence structure of English which exhibited variation within this sample of VE speakers. In each case, the amount and range of variation are not very extensive, but each will be briefly described here.

The first feature, subject absence, affects a wide range of sentence types. For some speakers, it is not necessary to specify overtly the subject in every instance where Standard English would call for it. In most of the cases observed, however, the identity of the subject was easily retrievable from the immediately surrounding context. Consider the utterances in (22):

22.a. When I mow the lawn, and I ask my neighbor, if__ need,__will do for him. (24:6)

b. On Tet my children stay home,__no go to school. (32:12)

c. I like Benny Hill because__funny. (73:(381))

d. In my family__ don't have that problem. (78:21)

In each example, the subject that is omitted has been previously identified, and the relationship is fairly clear.

The tendency to omit subjects may have its roots in a basic feature of Vietnamese conversational style, which involves "relatively short sentences, a predominance of clauses consisting of predicates alone" (Thompson 1965:306). In addition, "the category of person is nearly optional. The speaker needn't indicate if he refers to himself, his listener or another person" (Thompson 1965:306). In an example cited in the literature on Vietnamese, the English sentence If you want to know whether you won or lost, you have to go ask is translated literally from its Vietnamese equivalent as Want to know won lost have to go ask (Thompson 1965:230). We can thus speculate that the VE speakers who omit subjects do so primarily when there is no question about identity and that this tendency is reinforced by a Vietnamese language pattern.

The second feature we will deal with here concerns the form of various types of subordinate clauses. Among the speakers in our sample, there are a number of instances where verb complements, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses are marked in a nonstandard way. In some cases the complementizer, relativizer, or adverbial conjunction is omitted, as in (23); in others, one is used nonstandardly, as in (24).

23.a. They don't need__study. (32:5)

b. If you want__buy something, you ask them. (66:(1135))

c. There's a man__come and shoot him. (34:8)

d. Maybe there is people__can go, but for like half, I don't think they could go. (69:19)

e. I don't know__they still have it or not. (77:6)

f. I don't know__it's real or not. (9:23)

24.a. They wouldn't make us *to* go back and to stay there. (28:19)

b. If they tell me to, you have to do this, you cannot *to* do that, and I don't know how to do it. And they let me *to* do it my way. (52:9)

c. Their parent won't let *their* *doing* anything. (27:22)

In all of the cases, the clauses and basic structures are well-formed; what makes the structure nonstandard is the usage (or omission) of a grammatical particle (complementizer and so on) which is a formal marker of the particular subordination process involved.

The mechanics of subordination in English are quite complex, with patterns including verb and noun complementation (*I want to go*; *I made them wait*; *the idea that I'm happy is crazy* illustrate just a few of the types), relativization (*The book which I read*), and the formation of adverbial clauses (*I'll walk if it doesn't rain*; *I'll go when the time is right*). There are a number of different structural patterns and grammatical markers whose usage must be sorted out in order for a speaker to produce standard subordinate structures in English. It would appear that the speakers under consideration here do not have all the complexities sorted out, at least not in a standard way. The underlying basis for the nonstandard usage in this case, then, would most likely lie in the formal complexity of this particular area of the English language.

because the patterns of English are especially intricate when it comes to combining clauses, those from other native language backgrounds tend to have difficulty with various details of the patterns of subordinate constructions (Burt and Kiparsky 1972).

Finally, we should mention the formation of indirect questions. In English, questions are typically formed by moving an auxiliary to the front of the sentence, so that the direct question counterpart of *It is raining* becomes *Is it raining*? When a question word, such as *who* or *when*, is involved, both the question word and the auxiliary move, as in *Who were they chasing*? In indirect questions, however, this inversion does not take place. Instead, the question word, or the conjunctions *if*/*whether* are used and the declarative word order is retained. Thus, we have the indirect question forms *She asked if (whether) it is raining* and *He wondered who they were chasing*.

Occasionally, the VE speakers in our sample form indirect questions according to the direct question rule. This means that the auxiliary and question word are moved to the front of the clause and the conjunctions *if/whether* are not used, as in the examples in (25):

25.a. I don't know *how long is it*. (16:6)

b. I don't know *what's that*. (9:26)

c. She asked me *can she eat* cause in my country you have to be polite. (33:29)

In some cases, a contracted auxiliary co-occurs with a verb form, where the auxiliary is not *do*, as in (26):

26.a. I don't know *where's my dad work* either. (33:28)

b. I know "Sung", *what's that mean*, and "Hu", *what's that mean*. (47:1)

The formation of indirect questions as in (25) involves a regularization of the rules for forming questions, so that the same rules apply whether a question is direct or indirect. The regularization occurs in a number of varieties of English, mostly non-mainstream varieties, but it has been observed in the casual speech of some standard English speakers.

It is possible, then, that the usage of these regularized indirect questions by VE speakers reflects an influence of other varieties of English. Supporting evidence for this explanation can be found in the fact that most of the instances of this feature were observed in the speech of subjects in the two younger age groups (10-12 and 15-18 years of age). These groups, because of the effects of the school situation as well as their greater susceptibility to language influences, can be expected to show a greater degree of influence from neighboring English varieties. For the youngest group in particular, however, the influence may well be from native speakers whose indirect questions are still developing, since the non-inverted form of this structure can emerge relatively late in the order of acquisition of (standard) adult features. An alternative explanation must of course be recognized as well--that the nonstandard form of indirect questions is yet another instance of the language learning strategy of overgeneralization. We will not attempt to argue in detail for any single explanation and we can simply observe that the low frequency of this construction and the general orientation of these speakers toward standard patterns make it most likely that the standard form of indirect questions will dominate in the developing VE variety.

Summary

This survey of selected grammatical characteristics of VE has examined features of the noun phrase, verb phrase and sentence structure which diverge from the patterns of Standard English. Many of the structures have apparent sources in factors related to the second language learning situation, and there is evidence of transfer from the native language background in some cases as well. The overall picture that derives from those descriptions suggests a complex interplay of forces molding a developing variety of English. We will return to examine a single grammatical feature, unmarked tense, more comprehensively in a later chapter in an attempt to unravel the underlying influences that affect a particular area of usage. The sampling of grammatical features of VE described in this chapter provides the first stage in our linguistic characterization of the variety.

CHAPTER FIVE

Selected Structures of Vietnamese English: Phonological Characteristics

In the previous chapter, we focused on the grammatical characteristics of VE. In this chapter, we turn our attention to the phonological characteristics of the emerging variety of English. Some of the phonological characteristics of VE are among the most socially obtrusive features of the variety and the cumulative effect of various kinds of phonological divergence may be quite significant. Although the potential sources of divergence in phonology match those discussed for grammar, the role of transfer seems to be much more salient in phonology. For this reason, our approach will rely to a large extent on highlighting some of the differences between the target and source language phonological systems as a basis for understanding VE phonology.

Sound systems may differ along several different dimensions of organization. One dimension on which they may differ is the basic units of contrast employed in the system. Given the wide array of human speech sounds available for language use, languages are selective in which sounds are chosen and how they are utilized in a contrastive way within the language. For example, English uses the sounds /i/ and /I/ to contrast items such as beat and bit whereas Vietnamese does not, using only /i/ contrastively. We may thus say that there is a basic difference in /i/ and /I/ in English which is unmatched in Vietnamese.

A second dimension along which systems may differ concerns the basic sequencing patterns of contrastive units. Sound units do not occur in isolation, and the ways in which the units are combined in syllables and/or words is an important dimension of their patterning. Thus, both English and Vietnamese have contrastive units represented as /s/ and /t/, but English allows /s/ and /t/ to combine at both the beginning or end of a syllable as *st* (e.g. *stop*, *still*, *west*, *cost*) whereas Vietnamese does not. The difference in this case does not reside in the contrastive units but in the permissible sequences of units within the language. Because the distributional dimensions are often defined in terms of the sequencing of units within a syllable they are sometimes referred to as *syllable structure* differences.

A third level of difference does not involve the segments themselves, but the simultaneous dimensions of production that may be superimposed upon the sequences of consonants and vowels. These are the so-called *suprasegmentals*, and refer to phenomena such as pitch and stress. For example, it is well-known that in Vietnamese, the same sequence of consonants and vowels may differentiate words solely on the basis of a difference in pitch contour. Thus, a sequence such as *ma* may actually have six different meanings based on relative pitch contour. Because of this Vietnamese is known as "tone" language. English, on the other hand, has no significant pitch contour differentiating individual words. (It is, therefore, not a tone language). English, however, does have a system of pitch contours over phrases or words used to indicate certain basic sentence types (e.g. declarative versus question) and speaker moods (e.g. certainty versus uncertainty), but this "intonation" system is quite different from a tonal system affecting individual words. Vietnamese also has an intonational system covering the overall structure of sentences, but it is not to be confused with its tonal system that can differentiate individual items. Suprasegmental characteristics may also involve matters of syllable prominence, in which one syllable is given more "stress" than another. Thus, for example, English differentiates the noun and verb use of *permit* on the basis of its stress (e.g. *He will permít the departure* versus *He has a pérmit to depart*.) Stress differences are considered along with tone differences and intonational differences as an aspect of suprasegmental differences between languages.

In our overview of VE phonology, we shall discuss it primarily in terms of the dimensions of contrastive units and syllable structure. This is simply due to our current stage of description, and demonstrates a traditional bias toward describing segmental units before suprasegmental ones. Generally speaking, in a language such as English, segmental dimensions are considered more important than suprasegmental ones in their potential effect on overall comprehension, although there is no ample proof that this is necessarily the case. However, in this account, we follow the traditional priorities for presentation.

Although we separate our discussion into syllable structure processes and contrastive units, there are obvious cases in which one dimension impacts upon the other. In fact, one of the reasons we discuss syllable structure processes initially is because certain considerations of sequencing enter into our understanding of how different contrastive units may be manifested in VE.

Syllable Structure Differences

A number of the characteristics of VE phonology derive from the way in which various combinations of consonants and vowels may form syllables and words. As a starting point, we can observe that there are rather dramatic ways in which Vietnamese and English differ from each other in this regard. For example, English has a variety of consonants which can cluster at the beginning of a syllable, including two (bread, please, stop) and three consonants (splash, street, spring) combinations, whereas Vietnamese does not typically have initial clusters. The same can be said for syllable-final position, where English has as fairly wide array of clusters and Vietnamese does not permit them.

A cursory comparison of the syllable structure of Vietnamese and English is sufficient for us to predict that a speaker whose first language is Vietnamese may depart from standard English production in some rather important ways. The systems are quite dissimilar, and we can naturally expect that certain characteristics of Vietnamese will be transferred into the emerging variety of VE. Simple prediction of language transfer, however, has important limitations given a number of other considerations that come into play in second language acquisition (cf. Richards 1974). Thus, our following discussion is based solely on the observed characteristics of VE found in our sample of speakers here, not on a predictive base. This observed base for our description does not, however, deny the important role that language transfer obviously has in the current variety of VE, and we shall seize upon differences in the contrastive units of Vietnamese and English at many points to explain observed characteristics of VE. Many of the characteristics might have been predictable based on a "contrastive analysis", but there are also a number of features which demonstrate the importance of using an empirical base for description as we have done here.

In our ensuing presentation we shall not document all characteristics of the phonology according to the specific subjects in the sample; nonetheless, it is essential to note that all of the characteristics included here have been thoroughly documented in the speech of at least several subjects.

Final Clusters. Compared with many languages of the world, English has a relatively full set of consonant sequences in syllable and word-final position. For example, it has a fairly complete set of clusters which end in a stop, including a nasal+stop (e.g. find, sink), fricative+stop (e.g. left, west), and stop+stop (e.g. act, apt). It also has a number of clusters which involve a final fricative such as a stop+fricative (box, lapse, eighth) liquid (l, r) +fricative (e.g. elf, health, curse), or nasal+fricative (e.g. tense, month, lymph). And, there are a number of combinations which may result in three consonant sequences (e.g. attempt, alps), especially when a suffix is added to a form (e.g. *asked*, *jumps*, *length*). We have already mentioned that Vietnamese only has a restricted set of consonant singletons in final position, thus creating great dissimilarity between the systems. No doubt, this significant difference is, to a large extent, responsible for some important ways in which VE departs from the standard English system.

There are three basic ways in which the final consonant clusters of VE may differ from the standard English pronunciation. In the most typical pattern, the first member of the cluster is retained and the final member is lost, thus giving items such as *tes'* for *test*, *sik* for *six* and *chan'* for *change*. Much less frequently, the final member of the cluster is retained and the initial member is absent, giving items such as *jut* for *just*, *chage* for *change*, or *fat* for *fact*. Even less frequently, the complete cluster is absent, so that there are occasional cases of *te'* for *test* or *fa'* for *fact*.

It should also be mentioned here that cluster combinations may be modified as a result of other processes operating on members of the cluster. Thus, the *l* and *r* of clusters such as *help* or *course* may be absent (resulting in *he'p* and *cou'se* respectively), but this is related to the process affecting *r* and *l* following vowels rather than a process affecting the final clusters *per se*.

In describing the development of VE phonology, it is essential to distinguish between two different types of final clusters. One type, as mentioned above, affects those clusters that end in a stop, such as *find*, *test*, and *act*. Following the analysis of clusters set forth in Wolfram and Fasold (1974:130), it is also necessary to qualify these clusters as sharing the feature of voicing. That is, both members of the cluster are either voiced (*find*, *cold*) or voiceless (*fact*, *test*). Clusters in which one member is voiced and one voiceless (e.g. *colt*, *drink*) tend to operate more like the second type of cluster we will describe. The clusters ending in a stop contrast with those that end in a fricative of some type, which may be preceded by a stop (e.g. six, lapse), nasal (e.g. sense, month) or liquid such as r and l (e.g. curse, elf). Reduction of the first type of cluster is quite pervasive and persistent in VE, and is found in those speakers who have otherwise acquired fairly standard English phonology. Thus, both those who have been here 1-3 years and those who have been here 4-7 years have persistent production of forms such as col' for cold, fin' for find, and so forth. On the other hand, the production of six as sik or sense as sen is more restricted to those who are in the incipient stages of learning English. Thus, it is not typically found in those who have a more developed version of VE. For example, consider the following table, in which we have tabulated the incidence of cluster reduction for 16 selected speakers representing the different age groups and lengths of residency. For final stop clusters, tabulations were only made when the following word did not begin with a consonant (i.e. a vowel as in test area or end of an utterance as in test), since reduction before a following consonant is a regular part of casual spoken standard English (e.g. tes' case or fin' three are common in the spoken informal standard English). No more than 20 examples of each potential cluster type are taken for each speaker.

Table 5.1 justifies our conclusion that cluster reduction involving final stops is a persistent characteristic of VE, whereas cluster reduction with final non-stop clusters is not. The younger speakers, and those who have been here 4-7 years, typically manifest a considerable amount of reduction for final stop clusters while avoiding other kinds of cluster reduction. Thus, the one type of reduction seems to have stabilized as a characteristic of VE phonology whereas the other type represents an obvious transitional stage in the VE system.

We have limited our discussion above to those cases of syllable-final clusters that end a word. There are also clusters that may occur within a word

		Non-Stop Clusters		Stop Clusters	
Age Group	Subject Number	No.Red/T	%	No.Red/T	%
10-12	33	6/20	30.0	14/20	70.0
	34	0/16	0.0	18/20	90.0
15-18	39	3/17	17.6	13/14	92.9
	47	11/20	55.0	17/20	85.0
20-25	27	11/20	55.0	17/20	85.0
	58	11/20	55.0	17/18	94.4
35-55	24	3/20	15.0	10/16	83.3
	91	1/20	5.0	18/20	90.0

(a) 1 - 3 years residency

10-12	19	0/20	0.0	11/20	55.0
	42	0/19	0.0	10/20	50.0
15-18	29	0/20	0.0	13/18	72.2
	50	0/20	0.0	17/20	85.0
20-25	77	3/20	15.0	14/20	70.0
	89	3/20	15.0	19/20	95.0
35-55	74	8/20	40.0	18/20	90.0
	79	10/20	50.0	13/15	86.7

(b) 4 - 7 years residency

Table 5.1 Comparison of Reduction for Final Non-Stop Clusters and Stop Clusters by Age and Length of Residency

and across syllable boundaries, and these may also be reduced. Thus, we may get items such as *esplain* for *explain*, *mysery* for *mystery* or *fision* for *fiction*. Such examples demonstrate that some cluster reduction can be extended across different syllables as well as within a particular syllable, although these cases are not nearly as frequent as those within a single syllable.

Most of our examples thus far have involved cases where the cluster comprises a single item, but there are also cases that may involve a cluster formed by the addition of a grammatical suffix. For example, *miss* does not involve a cluster, but the addition of the -*ed* results in cluster [mIst]; similarly, *run* does not involve a cluster, but the addition of -*s* results in one [rənz]. Since VE also has processes that may eliminate such endings for grammatical reasons completely apart from phonological ones, it stands to reason that the incidence of reduction in these cases is generally higher than those which involve only a phonological basis. Thus, reduction in an item such as *miss'* for *missed* or *run* for *runs* is typically more frequent than an item such as *wes'* for *west* or *sen'* for *sense*. In the former case, the phonological and grammatical processes may converge to result in the form whereas in the latter case only a phonological process is involved. The relationship between "inherent" clusters and "suffixial" clusters found here is quite different from that often found for native speaker dialects of English (cf. Guy 1977, Wolfram and Fasold 1974; Baugh 1979), but it is quite reasonable when the additive effects of independent phonological and grammatical processes are considered.

Initial Clusters. English also has a fairly extensive set of syllable-initial consonant clusters, including both two member and three member sets. Although modifications of these initial clusters are not nearly as frequent as syllable-final cluster simplification in VE, there are, nonetheless, a number of different variations that may occur. These are best discussed by the cluster type.

There are several major types of clusters involving two member clusters in initial position. One of these involves *s* plus a stop or nasal, as in *skate*, *spot*, *state*, *small*, or *snake*. Typically, these are modified by those speakers who are in the initial stages of learning English, and none of the variant productions is apparently stabilizing as a persistent feature of the system. The predominant variant for these forms involves the reduction of the first member of the cluster, giving *'kate*, *'pot*, *'tate*, *'mall*, or *'nake*. Overall the incidence of these productions is not high, but is more likely to occur in the *s+stop* clusters than the *s*+nasal clusters. A less frequent production involves the absence of the stop member of the cluster, giving *sate* for *skate* or *sot* for *spot*. We have not found any examples of *s'all* for *small* or *s'ake* for *snake*. It is also possible that a vowel may be inserted between the members of the cluster, giving something like *suhkate* for *skate* or *suhmull* for *small*, but we have only come across isolated instances of this modification in the corpus.

Another major type of two-member clusters in English involves a stop or fricative plus liquids *l* and *r*, as in *please*, *slow*, *breath*, *free*, *glow*, *grow* and so forth. The most typical variant production of these standard English clusters in VE is their production without the second member of the cluster, giving *f'ee* for *free*, *beath* for *breath* and so forth. The absence of *r* is more frequent than the absence of *l* in these cases, although neither seems to be particularly high given the fact that Vietnamese does not have such clusters. There are also occasional instances of initial consonant absence in these clusters, such as *'rammar* for *grammar* or *'row* for *grow*; these are more frequent with the back stops *g* and *k* than with other consonants but there are isolated cases involving non-back consonants such as *'reedom* for *freedom*.

English also has a restricted set of initial consonants that can be followed by *y* or *w*, as in *music* [myuzIk] or *quick* [kwIk], and these may also be reduced by eliminating the y or w, (e.g. m'usic or q'ick). The loss of the y in a cluster can occur elsewhere as well, so that comm(y)unist is produced as comm'unist or comm(y)ute as comm'ute. With w, we have several instances of w retention when g is involved, giving 'wam for Guam.

Finally, there are cases of three consonant sequences, all of which involved an initial s plus a stop, p,t, or k, followed by r, w, or l (e.g. splash, squeeze, street). These three consonant sequences involve the kinds of productions discussed with reference to two consonant clusters and as expected, allow more variant forms. Thus, the production of the skw cluster in squeeze in a reading passage for this study took the following variants: 'kweeze, sweeze, skeeze, and ksqueeze. Only the final example, which seems related to a hypercorrection in the reading of the item, would not be predictable based on our presentation of two-member productions above. These variant productions also illustrate the fact that different speakers may take slightly different roads in their modification of initial clusters within VE.

Final Consonant Deletion. Final consonant clusters are not the only final segments that may be modified in VE. Single final consonants may also be affected by processes that differentiate VE from its standard English counterpart. One of the essential processes affecting these "singletons" is simple deletion, in which the final consonant is absent. Thus, we may get items such as bi' for big, cau' for cause, dow' for down and so forth. The absence of final singletons is no doubt related to the fact that Vietnamese has a relatively restricted set of consonants occurring finally, namely, the nasal consonants and voiceless stops, p, t, and k.

However, it is noteworthy that in VE the final consonant deletion process can be quite general, and include even those consonants that might be found finally in Vietnamese. The pattern of absence in this case does not simply follow the expectation set up by a "contrastive analysis". Thus, we may get final nasals and final p, t, or k of English deleted so that we find instances of fu' for fun, coa' for coat, and loo' for look among the examples of final consonant absence. In most instances, we may expect deletion among these consonants having corresponding segments in Vietnamese to have a lower incidence of deletion than those where there is no corresponding consonants (e.g. final n deletion is less frequent than final s deletion). In the case of final nasals, deletion of the final nasal is often compensated for by the retention of a nasal vowel. Thus, an item such as fu' for fun would have a nasal vowel segment much as it is used in French [fə̃]. The use of this nasalized vowel may, in fact, be related to the familiarity that many speakers have had with French as a second language.

Although some speakers have fairly extensive final consonant deletion, it is typically a variable phenomenon. That is, sometimes the final segment is there and sometimes it is not, so that a speaker may use both ma' and make productions for the item on different occasions. For example, consider the following distribution of final d absence as revealed by 16 selected speakers for whom we have tabulated up to 25 instances of final d in items such as good, road, bread, and so forth. In this table (5.2), the instances of final consonant deletion are distinguished on the basis of whether they are followed by consonant (e.g. good man, bad sore) or non-consonant (e.g. good apple, bad).

The figures in Table 5.2 clearly demonstrate that final consonant deletion is a variable but persistent feature of VE. And for all speakers, the incidence of deletion is greater when followed by a consonant than when it is not. This stands to reason since casual standard English allows some deletion of final consonants when followed by consonants, so that it is not particularly obtrusive to produce good boy as goo'boy or bad guy as ba'guy. As a final consonant, d

RESIDENCY

		1-3 Years						4-7 Years				
		Non C	C					Non C	C			
Age	Subj.	Abs/T	Abs/T	Tot	%	M	Subj	Abs/T	Abs /T	Tot	%	M
10-12	33	3/15	4/10	7/25	28.0	22.0	19	1/18	3/7	4/25	16.0	19.1
	34	1/15	3/10	4/25	16.0		42	0/4	4/14	4/18	22.2	
15-18	39	3/16	1/9	4/25	16.0	14.0	29	5/12	8/11	13/23	56.5	42.3
	47	2/15	1/10	3/25	12.0		50	2/19	5/6	7/25	28.0	
20-25	27	3/16	5/9	8/25	32.0	41.0	77	0/9	4/16	4/25	16.0	32.0
	58	6/11	1/3	7/14	50.0		89	5/11	7/14	12/25	48.0	
35-55	24	2/11	0/5	2/16	12.5	30.3	74	2/8	-	2/8	25.0	32.5
	91	4/14	8/11	12/25	48.0		79	4/14	6/11	10/25	40.0	
TOTALS		24/113	23/67	47/180				19/95	37/79	56/174		
		21.2%	34.3%	26.1%				20.0%	46.8%	32.2%		

TABLE 5.2 Absence of Final Lexical d, followed by Non-Consonant and Consonant

probably stands in the middle range of the final consonant deletion process, with segments such as nasals deleted considerably less but final segments such as *f* or *v* deleted more.

In addition to the deletion of final consonants, some speakers may insert a schwa-like vowel following the consonant, to retain a simple consonant-vowel sequence. Thus, we get utterances like *havuh four* for *have four* or *likuh the* for *like the*. This particular characteristic, which may result from a type of overlearning focused on retaining final consonants, is idiosyncratic and some speakers use it a great deal while others do not use it at all. Furthermore, the inserted vowel tends to be restricted to certain vocabulary items, such as *have* or *like*. These items typically contain final segments fairly susceptible to final consonant deletion in VE, so that they are more likely to be focused upon in the language learning situation.

Final Devoicing. Final consonant singletons may not only be affected by the deletion process; those consonants (other than nasals) that are retained are often produced as a voiceless cognate of their English voiced counterpart. Thus, final *b*, *d*, *g*, *z*, and *j* may be produced as *p*, *t*, *k*, *s*, and *ch* respectively, as in *rop* for *rob*, *roat* for *road*, *pick* for *pig*, *dose* for *doze*, and *lech* for *ledge*. This devoicing process is obviously related to the fact that Vietnamese does not permit voiced consonants (other than nasals) in word-final position.

Two observations on the phonetic character of those final voiceless correspondences should be made. First, it is noted that the final voiceless consonant is usually cut off quite abruptly and momentarily not released. Phonetically, these are the so-called "unreleased" stops. In English, final stops are often unreleased when they conclude an utterance, but this characteristic is more widespread in VE. In some instances, the cut-off of the consonant may actually occur as an abrupt momentary closure of the vocal bands known as a "glottal stop". This glottal stop, phonetically represented as [ʔ], is found in stereotypical production of New York *bottle* as *boʔl* or *button* as *buʔn* but is also quite common for informal standard English production of *t* at the end of an utterance. Thus, in VE, it is possible to get *pig* as *piʔ* or *bad* as *baʔ*. A trained phonetician should be able to distinguish a glottal stop from a final unreleased stop reliably, but this difference may not be as readily perceived by an untrained ear.

Devoicing is a process that interacts with final consonant deletion, since devoicing obviously cannot take place on consonants that are deleted. In this light, we can add the category of devoicing to our tabulation of *d* (Table 5.2) as an illustration of a final consonant singleton under modification in VE. Thus Table 5.3 contains the incidence of final devoicing and deletion for final *d*. For our purposes here, unreleased *t* and glottal stop are considered as a single category of devoicing.

Devoicing is shown to be a quite active process on the basis of Table 5.3. Interestingly, it is shown to be more prominent than deletion for those in the 1-3 year residency group whereas it is less frequent than deletion for the 4-7 year group. These figures caution us against concluding that devoicing is an acquisitional step beyond deletion. At least for *d*, devoicing may be a more basic step in the developing system of VE phonology than deletion.

The operation of both devoicing and deletion show that final voiced consonants are quite susceptible to modification in VE. For the 1-3 year group, almost three-quarters of all final *d's* are modified in one way or another, with preference for devoicing. For the 4-7 year group approximately one-half of all final *d*'s are modified, with a slight preference for absence. While other

RESIDENCY

	1-3 Years							4-7 Years						
AGE	Subj.	Del.	% Del.	Dev.	%	Tot/Mod.	%	Subj.	Del.	%	Dev.	%	Tot/Mod.	%
10-12	33	7	28.0	8	40.0	15/25	60.0	19	4	16.0	1	4.0	5/25	20.0
	34	4	16.0	4	16.0	8/25	32.0	42	4	22.2	1	5.6	5/18	27.8
15-18	39	4	16.0	9	36.0	13/25	52.0	29	13	56.5	0	0.0	13/23	56.5
	47	3	12.0	21	84.0	24/25	96.0	50	7	28.0	5	20.0	12/25	48.0
20-25	27	8	32.0	12	48.0	20/25	80.0	77	4	16.0	5	20.0	9/25	36.0
	58	7	50.0	3	21.4	10/14	71.4	89	11	44.0	9	36.0	20/25	80.0
35-55	24	2	11.8	12	70.6	14/17	82.4	74	2	25.0	2	25.0	4/8	50.0
	91	12	48.0	3	15.0	15/25	60.0	79	10	40.0	13	52.0	23/25	92.0
Totals		47	26.0	72	39.8	119/181	65.7		55	31.6	36	20.7	91/174	52.3

TABLE 5.3 Incidence of Devoicing and Absence for Final Lexical d

consonants may show differing frequency levels of modification, the results point to the strength of the final consonant modification pattern in VE.

Basic Contrastive Units

In the previous section, we viewed the characteristics of VE from the perspective of the syllable. Processes related to the structure of the syllable obviously account for a number of the distinct characteristics of the system. But there are also a number of characteristics that relate more directly to the basic inventory of sound contrasts. These contrasts may be affected by considerations of the sequencing of sounds, but they are derived ultimately from how sounds have been employed within a basic inventory of contrasting units.

In presenting our considerations of sound inventory, we have organized the discussion on the basis of various "natural classes" of sounds. This is in keeping with a perspective in which sound systems are viewed as sets of contrasts among classes of sounds. Thus, our typical presentation groups together sets of sounds that tend to operate alike in their role within the overall system. While we organize our discussion on the basis of various natural classes of sounds, we have attempted to avoid some of the more technical descriptive terminology often associated with such an approach. This approach is adopted here in order to maximize the usefulness of the discussion for both professional linguists and language practitioners. Professional linguists should be able to provide appropriate formalism based on the information provided in our prose account, while practitioners should be able to acquire basic information about the system of contrastive units that can be used to guide educational considerations.

The Sibilant Sounds: s,z,sh,zh, j, and ch. The sounds of s,z,sh,zh,j, and ch are sometimes considered as a natural class because they all involve production in which air escapes through a narrow trough formed by grooving the tongue. Within this "s-like", or technically, "sibilant" sound class, some sounds are much more divergent in VE than others, no doubt related to the nature of the Vietnamese sound system.

The least problematic of the sounds seems to be the *s*. Except for occasional use of *z* for *s* between vowels (e.g. *racing* as *razing* or *facing* as *fazing*), *s* is only affected by more general syllable structure processes mentioned previously. Thus, in final position, *s* may be deleted (e.g. *race* as *ra'* or *box* as *bok'*) but this is related to syllable structure processes rather than the *s* correspondence *per se*. In the case of an item such as *ra'* for *race*, it is affected by syllable-final consonant deletion, and in the case of *box* (phonetically *ks*), it is apparently affected by consonant cluster reduction. A similar situation exists for *z* for most speakers. There is extensive final devoicing of *z* to *s* (e.g. *faze* as *fase*, *breeze* as *breese*), along with some final deletion (e.g. *breeze* as *bree'* or *prize* as *pri'*), but this is typically related to the more general syllable structure processes than the individual *z* sound. The various *s* for *z* productions are clearly not as socially obtrusive as some other aspects of sibilant productions.

The sibilant sounds produced further back in the mouth (the front of the palate as opposed to the ridge behind the teeth) tend to be much more divergent in VE than *s* or *z*. Sounds such as *sh* in *ship* or *wish*, *zh* in *pleasure* or *rouge* and *j* in *judge* or *badge* are particularly susceptible to divergence. The *ch* of *church* is only problematic in certain positions since it parallels a sound unit in Vietnamese which is a rough approximate phonetically. The *sh* sound is often produced as an *s*, giving *sip* for *ship*, *Englis* for *English*, and *fasion* for *fashion*. Some speakers are much more prone to use the *s* for *sh* rendering than others with comparable exposure to English, perhaps related to the dialect of

Vietnamese spoken as a first language (some dialects of Vietnamese are reported to have a *sh* sound while others do not). It should also be noted that there are speakers who will even occasionally use a *sh* for an English *s*, producing *see* as *she* or *sin* as *shin*. These occasional renderings seem attributable to a type of "over-correction" of the English *s/sh* distinction. In this overcorrection, a concerted effort to produce the English target of *sh* leads to the extension of *sh* beyond those contexts where it is appropriate in the target language; hence, we have some production of *sh* for *s*. It should also be mentioned here that some speakers seem to prefer a *ch* production of English *sh* in word-initial position, thus producing *ship* as *chip* or *shoe* as *chew*.

The voiced cognate of *sh* in English is the *zh* found it items like *pleasure* and *usually*. As with *sh*, it can be fronted to the *z* position, so that *usually* is rendered as *uzually* or *pleasure* as *pleazure.* Since the *zh* sound in English is relatively restricted in its occurrence, the use of *z* for *zh* is clearly not as obtrusive as the *s* or *ch* for *sh*.

As mentioned above, *ch* does not typically pose a problem at the beginning of a word, but in medial and final position it has several alternate productions. The most common alternates for *ch* in these positions are *sh* or *s* so that much may be produced as *mush* or *mus* or *rich* as *rish* or *ris*. The voiced cognate of *ch*, *j*, has a number of different phonetic productions possible, dependent upon the position in the word, and, to some extent, the individual speaker. In initial and medial position, *ch* or *zh* are found, so that *junior* may be produced as *chunior* or *zhunior*. Some speakers may also use *y* in initial position, so that *jail* is produced as *yail*. We may speculate that the frequency of *zh* for *j* is due in part to the influence of French, which many of the subjects have been exposed to fairly extensively in their Vietnamese schooling. The *zh* sound is quite common in French, and those who have had extensive exposure to French seem to use it more frequently than those who have not had such exposure. In our sample, this is the two older age groups. This kind of transfer from a second language to a third language is not uncommon when the sound involved is not found in the first language but is common in the second one.

In final position, the *zh* production for *j* will typically become *sh* because of devoicing, or, less frequently, become deleted completely, so that *age* would be produced as *ash* or even *a'*. Fronting of the *sh* may then render it as *ase* for *age* or *wase* for *wage*.

For all of the sibilants described in the above, a glottal stop or unreleased *t* may also be found, particularly when the item is followed by a vowel. Thus, *teach* may be produced something like *teat*, *wage* as *wate*, *wish* as *sit*, and so forth.

As shown above, there are a number of ways in which the different sibilants may be rendered in VE. The particular variant depends upon its intersection with syllable structure processes, the level of proficiency in English, exposure to other languages such as French, and even the learning process in the case of "hypercorrections". We may summarize the observed productions in the following chart (Table 5.4), which is organized according to four major positions within a word: (1) word-initial (e.g. *sin*, *ship*) (2) inter-vocalic (e.g. *racing*, *fishing*) (3) contiguous to another consonant (e.g. *mystery*, *capture*) and (4) word-final (e.g. *catch*, *fish*). In cases where no divergence is typically found, the standard English form is given; in other cases it is not given even though the normative English production typically fluctuates with other forms. The null symbol *Ø* is used to indicate the absence of the consonant.

Sibilant Sound		Position in Word			
Orthographic Symbol	Phonetic Symbol	Initial	Intervocalic	Contiguous Consonant	Final
s	[s]	s/sh sip	s/z fussy	s/∅ mystery	s/t/∅ class
z	[z]	z zoo	z/s easy	∅/t Colesville	s/∅/t freeze
sh	[ʃ]	s/ch ship	s/ch/z fishing	s/ch/t/∅ capture	s/t/∅ fish
zh	[ʒ]	--	z usually	--	sh/s/t/∅ beige
j	[dʒ]	zh/ch/z/y just	zh/ch rigid	zh/z/ch/∅ danger	sh/s/t/∅ ledge
ch	[tʃ]	ch/sh cheap	ch/sh/s/t catcher	ch/sh/s/t culture	sh/s/t/∅ watch

Table 5.4 Sibilant Productions in VE

The th Sounds. There are actually two sound segments spelled with th in English. The voiced apico-dental sound occurs in words such as the, mother, and smooth whereas the voiceless counterpart occurs in words such as think, ether, and math (Note that words such as ether and either are differentiated in many dialects solely on the basis of the voiced or voiceless th.). Vietnamese does not have either of these sounds so it is quite common for VE speakers to use variant pronunciations. At the beginning of a word, the stop counterpart is used, d for voiced th [ð] and t for voiceless th [θ]. Thus, words such as the and though might be pronounced something like de and dough and think and thick something like tink and tick.

In the middle of a word, the stop pronunciations are also quite common, rendering items such as mother or either as moder or eider and bathroom or ether as *batroom* or *eter*. Between vowels as in *mother* and *either*, the sound may be flapped, as in the American English pronunciation of *butter* or *ladder*, so that the *th* of *brother* is quite like of the *tt* of *butter*.

In final position, there are more variant pronunciations, although the stop pronunciations are still possible (e.g. *math* as *mat*, *smooth* as *smood*). In final position, the *th* sounds may be subject to the general processes that delete final consonants, so that *math* might be *ma'* or *smooth* *smoo'*. Absence of any consonant is particularly common when *th* is part of a consonant cluster, so that *month* is often produced as *mon'* and *tenth* as *ten'*. In final position, *f* is sometimes also found; thus *bath* and *math* might be produced as *baf* and *maf* respectively. Due to the complete absence of *th* in Vietnamese and the limited number of items in English which utilize the *th* sounds, variant pronunciations of these sounds seem to be quite persistent in VE.

Another variant for the *th* sounds found with some speakers is *s* or *z*. This production seems favored at the beginning of a word (*zuh* for *the*, *sing* for *thing*) and at the end of a word when following a high vowel as *Smis* for *Smith*, *wis* for *with*. Most speakers favor the stop productions for interdentals over the *s* or *z*, but there is a minority of speakers who use the *s* and *z* fairly regularly. We may speculate that speakers more familiar with French as a second language are more likely to use the *s* and *z* productions. The various productions for [θ] and [ð] are given in Table 5.5, according to word-initial, intervocalic, contiguous to a consonant, and word-final positions.

Sound	Initial	Intervocalic	Contiguous Consonant	Final
[θ]	t/s thing	t/s nothing	t/∅/s arithmetic	t/∅/f/s/p tooth
[ð]	d/z this	d/[ɾ] mother	d/∅/z smoothly	d/z/∅ breathe

Table 5.5 Production of *th* Sounds in VE

Due to the fact that most varieties of Vietnamese have both *v* and *f* in initial position, these sounds in this position do not typically diverge from the standard English production. In medial and final position, however, there are several variant pronunciations possible. in final position, the sounds are often omitted, so that items such as *five* and *life* my simply be pronounced without the final *v* or *f*. It is also possible that a final stop, *p*, might occur, giving *fipe* and *lipe* for *five* and *life*.

In medial position, a stop correspondence also appears so that an item such as *after* or *laughing* might be produced as *apter* or *lauping*. Since there are apparently some dialects of Vietnamese which do not distinguish between *f* and *p* in any position, we would certainly expect that speakers from these dialect areas would be more prone to use the *p* for *f* correspondence than those speakers from dialects that make this distinction.

The Stops: b,d,g, and p,t,k. In English, there is a quite symmetrical set of stops which have fairly parallel privileges in terms of where they may occur within words. Both the voiced stops *b*, *d*, and *g* and their voiceless cognates, *p*, *t*, and *k*, respectively, can occur in initial, medial and final position of a word, and in various combinations of consonant clusters in these positions. Vietnamese phonology has a rough approximation of these English stops but it differs in two important respects. First of all, the distributional privileges are different, so that voiced stops only occur initially while voiceless stops occur initially and finally. A second way in which they differ is their phonetic production. The actual Vietnamese production of both the voiced and voiceless stops is considerably different from English, resulting in pronunciations of English which do not match phonetically the native English speaker's expectation. We shall not concern ourselves with the technical details of the

Vietnamese phonetic production, but simply specify the ways in which the English production is affected.

At the beginning of a word, voiced stops such as *b* (e.g. *boy*, *bill*) and *d* (e.g. *dough*, *dog*) are often "preglottalized and imploded". The imploded sound is made by sucking in air as the sound is released. The effect is a kind of slight "popping" sound, which is unlike any regular production used in English. In English, the air during *b*, *d*, and *g* is simply exhaled as the sound is released. Although the initial *d* and *b* productions of a VE speaker might be somewhat different from the comparable sounds in English, there is actually little confusion with the English correspondences.

The voiceless cognates, *p*, *t*, and *k* are also produced phonetically different from their English counterparts, but these productions can sometimes lead to perceptual confusion. Initial *p*, *t* and *k* in English are typically produced with a puff of air upon their release, known as aspiration (and symbolized by a raised *h* since the release is similar to the *h* sound in an item such as *hair*). As it turns out, aspiration is an important cue for perceptually identifying voiceless stops. The initial voiceless stops in Vietnamese, however, are produced without this aspiration. Because English speakers are so cued to hearing the aspiration on voiceless stops, they may misclassify a voiceless, unaspirated stop as a voiced stop. Thus, a Vietnamese English speaker's production of English *puff* or *toe* may strike the English listener as sounding like *buff* and *doe*. In reality, the VE speaker is clearly distinguishing these items, since the voiced stops may be imploded and the voiceless ones simply unaspirated and non-imploded. Despite the reality of the phonetic distinction, the unaspirated voiceless stops can be problematic for English listeners, particularly since there are so many words that are distinguished only on the basis of the initial voiced and voiceless stops (e.g. *pie/bye*, *bee/pea*, *do/too*, *tip/dip*, etc.)

The second aspect of stops to be noted is their distributional privileges. Since Vietnamese only has voiceless stops finally, it is typical for VE speakers to render final voiced stops in English as voiceless, thus producing *big* as *bik*, *rob* as *rop*, or *God* as *got*. These voiceless cognates will predominate, although some speakers will occasionally delete final stops completely, rendering *big* as *bi'*, or *God* as *ga'*. The final deletion process for stops, however, is not nearly as active as it is for some other groups of sounds.

Liquids l and r. At the beginning of a syllable, VE *l* and *r* do not differ in any drastic way from their American English counterparts. Thus, the *l* of items such as *lip* and *late* or *run* and *rip* are not typically divergent. Only one occasional exception to this observation has been found: two speakers occasionally used a *dr* for the *r* sequence so that *read* is *dread* and *write* is *drite*. This pattern, however, seems to be quite restricted, if not idiosyncratic.

Following a vowel within a syllable, *l* and *r* are often absent. Thus, *ball* or *help* are produced as *ba'* and *he'p* respectively, and *car* and *cart* are found as *ca'* and *ca't* respectively. This, of course, is quite like many dialects of English and is not particularly obtrusive. The stressed *r* which serves as a syllable peak in items such as *hurt* or *curse* is also absent for many speakers so that these items are rendered as *hu't* and *cu'se* respectively. Again, this is a pattern duplicated in some native varieties of English, and has little effect on overall comprehension. In items where a word-medial *r* or *l* is in a position where it can be interpreted as syllable-initial (e.g. after another consonant such as *only* or *approach* or between vowels as in *follow* or *fairy*), the *l* or *r* is most frequently present, although there are some instances in which *r* is absent in these contexts. The only variation in *r* production observed in our corpus is the occasional use of a back uvular trill for *r* much like the standard French production. These rare instances are probably attributable to the speakers' familiarity with French.

In summary, we can say that VE is much like a number of English "r-less" varieties in having *r* and *l* present at the beginning of a syllable but not within or at the end of a syllable. Because this pattern fits in with existent varieties of English, these sounds are among the less socially obstrusive aspects characterizing VE.

The Nasals m, n, ng. With several exceptions, the nasal segments of VE are produced in much the same way as their American English counterparts. Initial *m* and *n* in items such as *mom* and *now* are never divergent and only final nasals are occasionally affected. One different production is the occasional loss of final *m*, *n*, and *ng* so that *time*, *done*, and *sing* might be produced as *ti'*, *do'* and *si'* respectively. This absence is found despite the fact that Vietnamese has these nasal segments in final position. While the final nasal may be absent, nasalization of the vowel is often indicated, so that an item such as *bea'* for *bean* is differentiated from an item like *bee* on the basis of the nasalization ([bĩ] versus [bi]. The occasional absence with the retention of a nasalized vowel suggests the possibility of a French influence here, particularly since the native language manifests final segment presence. We emphasize here that the final nasal segments are typically present much more than they are absent, and that final *n* is typically absent more than final *m*. Nonetheless, occasional absence in final position must be recognized, particularly by those in the more incipient stages of learning English.

A second aspect in which VE may differ from American English is a relatively minor pattern in which final English *ng* is sometimes produced more like an *n*. Some aspects of this difference are quite similar to the so-called "g-dropping" found in many casual and/or working class varieties of English, such as *sittin'* for sitting or runnin' for running. There are however, two possible ways in which the VE pattern may differ from other non-mainstream varieties of English. One is the fact that n for ng may occur on stressed syllables (e.g. sin for sing) as well as unstressed ones. Several speakers also have been found to use a production of n which is further back in the mouth, at a position near the front of the palate rather than the typical English position at the ridge behind the teeth. This may be related to the fact that Vietnamese has a regular nasal produced at this region, and this nasal has a wider distribution than final ng in Vietnamese. It should be noted that this production of n is not particularly obtrusive to the normal English speaker, and generally only noticeable when examining finer phonetic detail.

Vowels

Most unique dimensions of vowels in VE are traceable to differences in the Vietnamese and English vowel systems. However, it must be noted that the ways in which vowel differences are transferred from Vietnamese to VE are not always direct or predictable; thus, a simple comparison of the systems will not suffice as the basis for our description. Instead, we must rely upon empirically documented patterns of usage. Differences can be found both in the phonological units and the phonetic production of particular units, although our emphasis here is on the former cases because they are typically more significant in language organization.

One vowel contrast affected by differences in Vietnamese and English contrastive units is that between the high front vowels found in items such as beat and leave [i] versus that found in bit and live [I]. Vietnamese does not use these vowel differences to contrast items, and this lack of contrast is often transferred to English. In VE, the high front vowel of leave is often used, so that live is pronounced as leave and busy as beesy. The high vowel is favored when the following consonant is a front consonant such as *v* or *s*. When the following segment is a back consonant, such as *sh*, *ch*, or *k*, the lower front vowel may be used, so that *wick* for *week* and *rich* for *reach* are not uncommon.

A parallel absence of contrast is found for the high back vowels in items such as *food* and *Luke* [u] versus *foot* and *look* [U]. However, the way in which apparent transfer from Vietnamese takes place in this instance is somewhat different from the front vowels. Based on the parallel with the front vowels, we might expect *look* to be pronounced as *Luke*, but we have not found this to be the case. Instead, a vowel sound more approximative to that of *luck* or *but* [ə] is found. In reality, the sound is typically produced a little further back in the mouth than the [ə], more like the Vietnamese back unrounded vowel. Most cases of [u] versus [U] are thus maintained as distinct, but on a slightly different phonetic basis.

Another vowel contrast varying in VE involves the contrast between that found in items such as *mess* and *met* [ɛ] and *mass* and *mat* [æ]. While several options may be open for speakers who do not maintain such a contrast in their native language, the most frequent production we have found is the [a] of *father* in items such as *mass* and *mat*. The [a] vowel sound of *father* has also been observed in items such as *money* and *come*. This production is apparently favored when the following segment is a nasal, but it has been observed in other contexts as well.

One of the more general processes affecting vowels concerns those vowels that consist of a peak vowel and then a glide to another vowel, the so-called diphthongs. Characteristic diphthongs are found in items such as *time* [a^{i}], *boy* [o^{i}], and *pound* [a^{u}], but there are a number of more subtle diphthongs in English as well. At the end of a word or syllable, most diphthongs contain both the peak vowel and offglide, so that an item such as *lie* or *buy* will be produced with the regular diphthong expected in English. However, when followed by a consonant within a syllable, the glide may be lost. Thus, an item such as *time* may be produced much like *Tom* and *pound* much like *pond*.

This ungliding process not only affects the obvious diphthongs of English mentioned above; it also affects less obvious diphthongs found in items such as *late* ([e^{i}]) and boat ([o^{u}]). Most English speakers produce these as a diphthong, producing items such as *eight* and *play* with a peak vowel close to that of *met* and *let* and then gliding to a high front vowel (the [i] of *meet* or *pea*). In VE, the regular glide is typically found when these items are not followed by a consonant within a syllable, as in *play* and *stay*, but the glide may be absent when followed by a consonant, as in *mate* and *eight*. Thus, an item like *mate* may sound something like *met* or *late* as *let*. Items such as *boat* and *coat* may sound something like (but not identical to) *bought* and *caught* or that in *cut* or *bus*. Because the ungliding process affects a relatively wide range of vowels, it can be quite significant for some speakers of VE, although ungliding typically fluctuates with the regular glided diphthongs expected in standard English.

Summary

Our survey of phonological characteristics has been quite selective, and there are many additional characteristics that we might have included in our discussion. Nonetheless, we have seen that there are a number of points at which the sound systems of Vietnamese and English are in sharp conflict. Most of the characteristics of VE are the direct or indirect result of this conflict in the systems. In most cases, the Vietnamese phonological system was well established and habituated before the English system was ever introduced. Thus, virtually all the characteristics of VE phonology are related to the second language status of English. As new generations within the community are exposed to English phonology, many of these characteristics described here will disappear. At that point, we can look at the vestiges of VE phonology that may take on the kind of permanence we expect of a genuine "dialect" of English. Several of the potential phonological candidates for such permenance have been suggested in this discussion, but only succeeding generations can truly determine which ones, in fact, become entrenched as a substratal phonological effect from Vietnamese on a continuing version of VE.

CHAPTER SIX

Unmarked Tense in Vietnamese English

Introduction

In the previous chapters we provided an overview of a number of grammatical and phonological features of VE. In this chapter, we select one prominent characteristic of VE and analyze it in some detail. This investigation will demonstrate the complexities involved in sorting out the dynamics of the emerging VE system. Although there are a number of structural characteristics that might have been chosen for this detailed analysis, unmarked tense appears to be an ideal candidate for this kind of consideration. Of all the structural categories involved in learning English as a second language, few figure more prominently than the English tense system. For researchers, it is an essential structure for understanding the dynamics of L2 acquisition. Pedagogues also consider it a major hurdle to overcome in learning English, and typically devote considerable time to teaching the English tense marking system.

There is ample evidence to conclude that English tense marking patterns are problematic regardless of the native language of the language learner (Burt and Kiparsky 1972). The specific paradigm of marking and the interaction of auxiliaries, verbs, and morphological attachment make the system particularly difficult for the L2 learner. Furthermore, the particular marking patterns make the system especially susceptible to generalized learning strategies that depart from the target system. Thus, any L2 language learner can be expected to encounter a substantial linguistic hurdle in mastering the English tense-aspect system.

If the English tense marking system is problematic for any L2 learner, we can reasonably expect that acquisitional problems will be compounded for those speakers who come from L1 backgrounds with tense-aspect systems differing markedly from English. Vietnamese is clearly one of those systems. For one, tense marking is not an obligatory category, and the time aspect of a given sentence need not be marked overtly. Thus, Thompson (1965:209) notes:

> Without specific instructions to the contrary a sentence refers to the basic time of the context--that is, the time which has been made clear up to that point.

Although there are several particles that mark temporality in Vietnamese, tense-aspect relations are generally dependent upon a set of temporal-aspectual adverbs or extra-linguistic context. Furthermore, there is no system of morphological tense marking remotely comparable to the English verbal suffix system. Thus, Vietnamese, the source language, appears to qualify as an L1 system that differs markedly from the English L2 system. Our ensuing discussion is therefore representative of the obstacles that confront the L2 learner of English whose L1 has a relatively divergent tense system. Other L1 systems may differ in their specific representation of tense-aspect, but the general types of tense usage manifested in the interlanguage should be comparable to a considerable extent.

In detailing the dimensions of the L2 English tense-aspect system, we must be careful to respect the complexities of the target system. Students of the English verbal system are well aware of complex relations that exist between overtly marked past tense forms and actual temporal-aspectual relations. These relations extend beyond the verb phrase per se, including surrounding syntactic structures and larger discourse units. At various points, our decisions about the tabulation of "unmarked" tense will be influenced by such considerations although our intent here is not to explore the complexities of the English tense marking system but to document patterns of marking and unmarking by L2 learners.

Illustrations of Unmarked Tense

There are a number of considerations which influence the marking of past tense forms in English, but the pattern of overt tense marking within the verb phrase is relatively straightforward. Tense is marked on the first element within the verb phrase, regardless of how expanded or restricted the auxiliary is. Thus, tense is indicated on the verb if there are no auxiliaries (e.g. *make/made*, *study/studied)* or on the leftmost auxiliary in an expanded auxiliary - verb sequence (e.g. *has been coming/had been coming, will have been coming*, *would have been coming*). In our corpus, there are ample numbers of examples of unmarked tense where the English system calls for tense, whether in a single main verb construction, or in sequences involving the *be+ing* progressive, the *have+en* perfective, *do* support, or modals such as *can* and *will*. Following are examples of these various unmarked forms for our speakers.

Main Verb

1.a. Yesterday, we *buy* cookies and some candy and cereal. (34:20)

b. We *know* him in Vietnam because they stay together. (47:10)

c. And my uncle *take* us down about a month before the country was lost...(89:15)

Main Verb *be* / *be+ing* Progressive

2.a. I left Vietnam on April 30, 1975, which *is* the last day of the war. (74:12)

b. But we didn't get all that they *are* planning to have, we did have good soil...(91:16)

c. I didn't study because all my teachers *are* communists. (47:15)

Main Verb *Have* / have+en Perfective

3.a. So after that, my father *have* to move in Saigon because there all of the good university in Saigon. (91:14)

b. I know all the street after six months I *have* been here. (27:5)

c. When I first came here, 1975, I *have* six children. (79:6) do auxiliary

4.a. And last year, the Roy Rogers just have two cashiers and I don't have to be the cashier. (47:26)

b. (FW: Did you have anything to eat when you were on the boat?) Well, you know, they do have some rice and food...(27:13)

c. But just after we moved over here and we don't have contact. (77:5)

Modal will/can

5.a. They left Vietnam. And the owner of the ship, of the boat, ask me to follow, if I can follow my husband. (91:12)

b. We were so scared, we can't bring our dogs. (34:14)

The examples cited above represent fairly classic examples of unmarked tense that have been documented for L2 learners of English. However, as demonstrated in some of the examples, unmarked tense is often a variable rather than categorical phenomenon; that is, there are cases in which tense is sometimes marked and sometimes unmarked. Part of our discussion in the sections to follow will focus on this variability of marking tense to determine if there are particular factors that influence its variability.

In the process of identifying instances of unmarked tense, we need to consider how we recognize contexts which require past tense in the standard system. In the above examples, there are several bases for expecting past tense to be marked in English. In some cases, a time reference is explicitly indicated by a co-occurring temporal adverb (e.g. 1a, 2a, 4a). There are also cases where the specification of past tense elsewhere in the sentence calls for agreement with the item in question (e.g. 1c, 2b, 3c). Thus, clauses marked for tense such as (4c) But just after we moved... or (3c) when I first came here... would require a past time marking in related clauses. Finally, there are instances where the discourse or conversational context calls for a marked past tense (e.g. 4b,5a). While such cases may appear to be a bit more difficult to establish formally as past tense contexts, past tense marking is still needed. Given considerations of linguistic and extra-linguistic context, most situations requiring past tense in English are thus fairly well-established; nonetheless, there are some instances that remain ambiguous as to their tense marking for one reason or another. In ambiguous cases, we typically eliminate the relevant items from our tabulations.

The Intersection of Processes

Most of the examples cited in the previous section appear to be fairly clear-cut cases of unmarked past tense. That is, the context surrounding the item is adequate to establish the need to mark past tense in the target language, but it has gone unmarked. Furthermore, the examples all involve irregular past tense forms, where the unmarked form of the tense-carrying items is fairly obtrusive. This suggests a grammatical basis for unmarking, in which the L2 grammatical category of past tense simply has not been selected. This simple grammatical explanation, however, is not the only possible basis for accounting for unmarked past tense. Due to the phonological shape of some past tense forms in English, it is possible to derive surface unmarking from phonological processes as well.

The regular forms of the past tense morpheme may be affected by several phonological processes that result in the surface unmarking of a past tense form. The regular past tense marking takes three phonologically determined shapes: /d/ following a voiced segment other than an alveolar stop (e.g. /bænd/'banned' /sted/'stayed'), /t/ following a voiceless, non-alveolar stop (e.g. /mIst/'missed', /pUšt/''pushed') and /Id/ following an alveolar stop (e.g. /redId/ 'raided', /tritId/'treated'). Several of these forms are particularly susceptible to natural phonological processes that might result in the elimination of the tense-marking consonant even if it were grammatically attached.

That is, an underlying past tense form may not be manifested overtly because of the operation of a phonological process which deletes the sound or sounds of the suffix.

One such case involves past tense forms that, when added to a base word, combine with its final sound to form a consonant cluster. For example, items such as /mIst/'missed'/bænd/'banned', and /pUšt/'pushed' all end in a consonant cluster when the past tense suffix is added. Because the reduction of such clusters is apparently natural for all L2 learners to some extent, and particularly operative for those who come from L1 backgrounds not having final consonant clusters, the production of missed, banned, and pushed as /mIs/, /bæn/, and /pUš/ respectively may occur even if an underlying past tense suffix is attached. The question, of course, is how one can determine whether a particular form is derived from a phonological or a grammatical process when both are possible. For a particular item, this source may not be determined, since the phonological and grammatical bases converge to result in the same surface form. However, when we consider our frequency tabulations, we will observe how the convergence of processes may change the frequency configuration of particular forms. For our speakers with a Vietnamese background, this phonological explanation clearly converges with the grammatical basis illustrated above since there are no word-final clusters in the source language.

A second possible phonological explanation for regular past tense forms affects items ending in /d/ singleton. In Vietnamese, there is no final /d/. In fact, the only final consonants found in Vietnamese are /p/,/t/,/k/, and the nasal segments. Thus, the overall limitation of closed syllables and the absence of final /d/ might be cited as an explanation for items such as /ste/ for 'stayed' or /plau/ for 'plowed'. Here again, a phonological explanation may converge with a grammatical one. We should, however, note that /t/, the voiceless counterpart of /d/, occurs in final position in Vietnamese, and it is possible that final /d/ might simply be realized as /t/. Thus, the phonological convergence for final /d/ might not be as significant as that of the final past tense forms ending in clusters, but its potential must be recognized nonetheless.

Finally, we must consider the potential phonological convergence for final /Id/ past tense forms (the suffix in *treated* and *folded*). In this case, however, the phonological process of deletion does not affect a single consonant, but the entire syllable as a type of apocope. The deletion of a final unstressed syllable seems plausible as a general L2 language-learning strategy just as it does in L1 acquisition (Macken and Ferguson 1981). When this likely tendency is considered along with the fact that Vietnamese generally prefers monosyllabic items, we have a language transfer source supporting the elimination of the final unstressed /Id/. Our tabulations in the following sections should determine the extent to which this phonological source is a viable explanation for past tense unmarking.

Our discussion of phonological convergence so far has been restricted to those phonological processes that may cause unmarked tense on verbs which take the regular forms of the past suffix. But it is also possible that some classes of irregular past forms might be affected by phonological processes as well as grammatical unmarking. For example, consider the one irregular class which forms its past tense by a replacive cognate within a consonant cluster, such as *build/built*, *spend/spent*, or *send/sent*. The production of such forms as /bIl/, /spEn/, and /sEn/ respectively might result in the absence of overtly marked past forms whether or not they are marked grammatically.

Irregular verb forms involving internal vowel change might also effect past tense unmarking phonologically if the vowel change involves a distinction not maintained in the source language. Vowel differences are particularly susceptible to language transfer processes (Macken and Ferguson 1981) so that any English past/non-past distinction based on a contrast without a corresponding contrast in the source language might be neutralized as a result. Thus, for example, a difference such as /I/-/ʌ/ marking past tense as in dig/dug or win/won might be affected by such a process. Although we shall not detail the differences between the vowel systems of the source and target languages here, it should be noted that we do not expect this phonological process to account for many instances of unmarked past tense involving internal vowel change. This is due to the fact that most of the internal vowel changes involving irregular past forms have approximative functional distinctions in Vietnamese (e.g. /i/-/e/ as in eat/ate or /I/-/æ/ as in sing/sang.) This is not to say that the English and Vietnamese vowel systems are similar, for there are many important differences. However, the combination of available vowel contrasts in the two languages and the vowel contrasts utilized in irregular past formation do not typically result in phonological neutralization.

Grammatical Convergence

In addition to the convergence between phonological and grammatical processes resulting in identical surface forms, tense unmarking might result from grammatical rules other than basic tense differences. In an earlier study (Wolfram et al 1979:56), it was shown that tense unmarking could converge with different patterns of irregular verb formation. For example, a form such as Last year we come down to the celebration might derive from an irregular verb system in which the past and non-past forms of come are undifferentiated. Technically speaking, this means that the past form of come is marked for past grammatically, but that the surface form of the past and non-past are simply the same. This is analogous to certain standard English irregular verb forms such as put and set, which do not differentiate the past from the non-past form (e.g. Yesterday he put it down, Last week he set the table). The extension of this class of irregular verb formation is well-documented in some non-mainstream varieties (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:151) and may include items such as come, run, give, and eat among its more frequently occurring members (Wolfram and Christian 1976:84). Potentially, such verb forms might be considered as the result of this nonstandard irregular verb formation rather than simple unmarked tense. However, the potential of this kind of convergence seems much less likely for this population of speakers vis-a-vis other groups of speakers exhibiting unmarked tense because the language model for this group is much more oriented toward mainstream models that non-mainstream ones (See Chapter Three). While we do not rule out such grammatical convergence completely, we are inclined to minimize its potential effect on the cases of unmarked tense found in this study.

A second possible source of grammatical convergence is the so-called historical present, in which a non-past tense is used to narrate an event that took place at some prior time. The traditional explanation of this non-past usage is that it recalls or recounts the past as vividly as if it were present. Wolfson (1982) has recently specified the conditions under which non-past forms are used to narrate past events, and these can help delimit ambigous and unambiguous contexts for such forms. For one, the historical present is limited to narrative reports of specific happenings, a "performed narrative" (Wolfson:1978). Recurring or non-specific events would not be included in such a definition. Thus, the underlined non-past forms in a context such as (6) might potentially derive from an historical present usage whereas in a context such as (7) the forms would have to be marked as past tense according to the rules of the target language.

6. So we went down to the water and I say to the man, "Can you take us away from here? He says that he can do it for the right amount of money, and we give him the money and we're on a 70 meter boat with over one hundred and fifty people.

7. When we lived in Vietnam, we didn't go to school like we do here in the United States. We went to school six days a week and we had to treat our teachers with great respect. They could tell us anything and we had to do it.

Although specific instances of unmarked tense may be ambiguous, we may appeal to overall frequency patterns again to determine a possible convergent effect of grammatical explanations. If, for example, we find no substantive difference in the frequency of unmarked tense in recurring, non-specific events and narrative reports of specific happenings, we would be inclined to dismiss the significance of such convergence, since these are discourse genres that differ in the potential use of historical present.

An additional consideration supporting limited convergence from historical present usage is the level of language capability involved in the use of such a form. The discourse constraints and manipulation of tense switches endemic to the use of the historical present (Wolfson 1982) involve fairly advanced levels of language capability, levels not typically mastered at the earlier stages of language acquisition in either L1 or L2. Given the limited proficiency in English manifested by many of our speakers, it would be surprising if the use of the historical present were a major factor converging with simple unmarked tense usage to account for non-past forms.

Finally, we should consider the extra-linguistic constraints that limit the historical present as an explanation. Typically, our corpus consists of a one-on-one interview situation, a style which Wolfson suggests (1982:67) as severely limiting the potential for use of the historical present. Examples of historical present tend to have much greater potential for occurring in everyday conversation than in one-on-one interviews. The conclusion, then, is that unmarked tense convergence resulting from the manipulation of the historical present is unlikely in these data. We do not rule it out completely as a possible source of convergence, but suspect that it will be insignificant in its influence.

In light of the preceding discussion, we anticipate that phonological convergence will be much more significant than grammatical convergence in accounting for unmarked tense. Our investigation of the specific patterns of variability will demonstrate this to be the case.

Patterns of Variation in Unmarked Tense

In the preceding discussion, we documented the possible linguistic sources leading to unmarked tense in Vietnamese English. As mentioned there, a more complete understanding of unmarked tense, however, must recognize it as a variable phenomenon; that is, tense-carrying forms in the target language are sometimes marked for tense and sometimes not. While we cannot predict for a given form whether it will be marked or unmarked for tense, we anticipate that there will be sociolinguistic constraints that favor or disfavor its marking. In this approach, we align ourselves with the tradition of "variation theory" within sociolinguistics (Labov 1969; Bailey 1973; Cedergren and Sankoff 1974; Sankoff 1978) which recognizes systematic social and linguistic constraints on variability in linguistic form. Thus, we appeal to a quantitative dimension as the empirical basis for establishing relationships of more and less. In the following discussion, we shall limit ourselves to the examination of the social variables of age and length of residency, and the linguistic variables of form within the verb phrase, with the awareness that a more exhaustive study will necessarily extend beyond these variables.

As a starting point, we can examine the relative incidence of unmarked tense based on a simple distinction between regular and irregular verbs. This distinction seems important for two reasons. It delineates different potential sources for unmarked tense (i.e. phonological versus grammatical); it also delineates different learning strategies (pattern versus rote) involved in the L2 language learning process. In Table 6.1, the incidence of unmarked tense is given for regular and irregular tense forms, based on a subset of sixteen speakers from our sample equally divided by length of residency (1-3 and 4-7 years) and age (10-12, 15-18, 20-25, and 35-55). In the accompanying figure (Figure 6.1), a graphic summary of the data by age and residency is given.

Table 6.1 reveals a pattern in which the regular verbs are more likely to be unmarked for tense than their irregular counterparts, regardless of age or length of residency. This differential pattern is maintained for all of the individual speakers as well as for all the groups. Even those speakers who reveal a limited incidence of unmarked tense for irregular verbs (e.g. 10-12 year olds who have resided in the United States for 4-7 years) evidence substantial unmarked tense for the regular verbs.

One of the reasons that regular verbs may consistently reveal more tense unmarking than irregular forms is the convergence of phonological and grammatical patterns that result in surface tense unmarking. As noted previously, some of the regular past forms result in phonological structures highly susceptible to phonological transfer from the source language. One such pattern is the regular past tense form resulting in a consonant cluster. Since there are no final consonant clusters in the source language, we would expect the incidence of cluster reduction involving past tense marking to be quite high. This is demonstrated when we isolate the regular past tense forms involving a final

RESIDENCY

		1-3 Years							4-7 Years					
		Irregular			Regular				Irregular			Regular		
AGE	Subj	No. Um/T	% Um	M̄	No. Um/T	% Um	M̄		No. Um/T	%Um	M̄	Mo. Um/T	%Um	M̄
10-12	33	168/324	51.9	49.6	59/63	93.7	92.8	19	14/243	5.8	7.5	25/58	43.1	34.6
	34	141/298	47.3		56/61	91.8		42	12/131	9.2		6/23	26.1	
15-18	39	120/290	41.4	43.8	76/80	95.0	86.0	29	18/156	11.5	17.6	21/26	80.8	75.8
	47	41/89	46.1		10/13	76.9		50	13/55	23.6		17/24	70.8	
20-25	27	116/178	65.2	61.8	49/51	96.1	96.6	77	43/128	33.6	33.3	37/42	88.1	92.2
	58	123/211	58.3		97/100	97.0		89	34/103	33.0		26/27	96.3	
35-55	24	16/23	69.6	53.7	10/10	100.0	98.6	74	32/78	41.0	33.0	22/24	91.7	77.7
	91	48/127	37.8		35/36	97.2		79	8/32	25.0		7/11	63.6	
Total		773/1540	50.2		392/414	94.7			174/926	18.8		161/235	68.5	

Table 6.1. Incidence of Unmarked Past Tense for Irregular and Regular Verb Forms

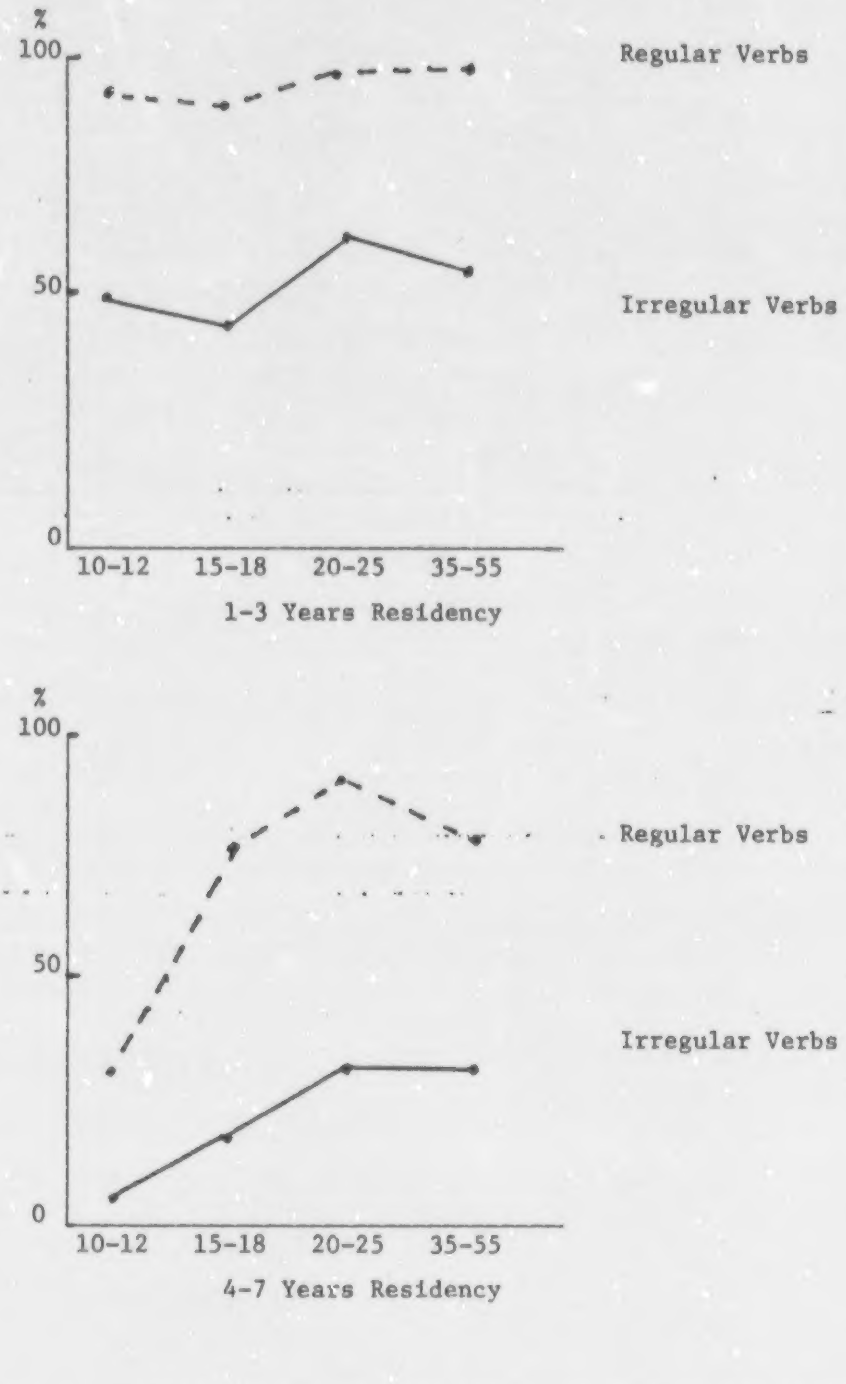


Figure 6.1. Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Regular and Irregular Verb Forms, by Age and Length of Residency

cluster as we have done in Table 6.2. Since final clusters are typically influenced by following segments (Wolfram 1969; Fasold 1972; Guy 1977), we have divided the clusters based on whether they are followed by a non-consonant (i.e. vowel or pause) or consonant.

The high incidence of past tense unmarking on regular past forms involving clusters tends to support the convergent phonological explanation for at least some regular past tense forms. The phonological explanation is further supported by the fact that the phonological shape of the following segment (non-consonant versus consonant) is a variable constraint on cluster reduction. Typically, phonological rules are more likely to be subject to surrounding phonological context than grammatical ones (Wolfram and Fasold 1974:126). Thus, the quantitative and structural evidence point to the recognition of a phonological basis for some surface unmarked tense forms.

A final bit of evidence supporting a phonological basis comes from the examination of final clusters which do not involve a past tense item. If past tense absence in clusters truly may be derived from a phonologically-based transfer process, we would expect this process to affect lexical (or "monomorphemic") clusters as well as those involving past tense. That is, the same process should effect reduction in items such as cold, mist, or pact, as well as items such as called, missed, or picked. In order to establish this basis, we have extracted for each subject in our subsample up to 20 tokens of lexical clusters which are comparable to those involved in past tense clusters (i.e. they end in a stop, and the preceding segment matches the final stop in its voicing specifications). In Table 6.3, the figures for cluster reduction for past tense forms are compared with those for lexical clusters. Figures are only given for clusters followed by a non-consonantal segment, since this is the

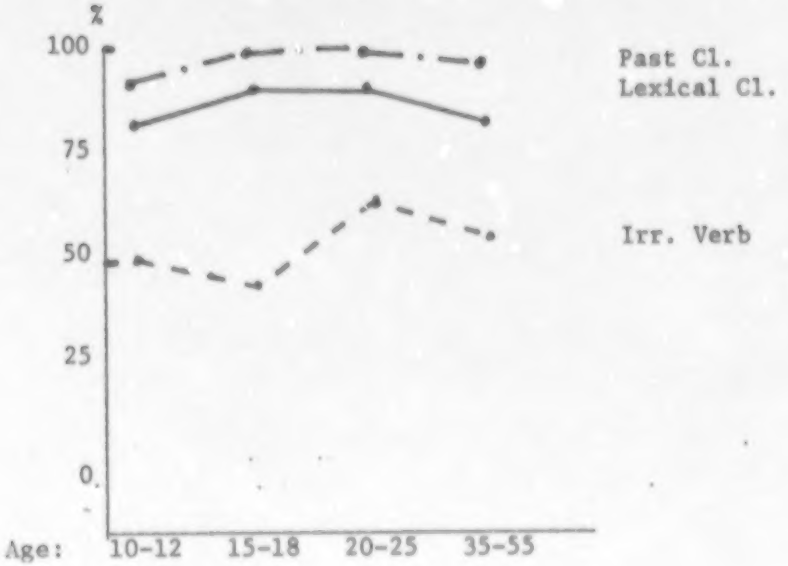
RESIDENCY														
		1-3 Years							4-7 Years					
		Non C			C				Non C			C		
AGE	SUBJ.	Abs/T	%Abs		Abs/T	%Abs		SUBJ.	Abs/T	%Abs		Abs/T	%Abs	
10-12	33	27/30	90.0	91.0	18/18	100.0	100.0	19	7/22	31.8	29.8	12/13	92.3	62.8
	34	34/37	91.9		11/11	100.0		42	5/18	27.8		1/3	33.3	
15-18	39	32/33	97.0	98.5	26/27	96.3	98.2	29	3/10	30.0	65.0	5/5	100.0	95.5
	47	7/7	100.0		2/2	100.0		50	4/8	50.0		10/11	90.9	
20-25	27	19/19	100.0	98.4	14/14	100.0	100.0	77	18/20	90.0	95.0	9/9	100.0	100.0
	58	30/31	96.8		18/18	100.0		89	10/10	100.0		5/5	100.0	
35-55	24	4/4	100.0	95.5	2/2	100.0	100.0	74	5/7	71.4	65.7	5/5	100.0	100.0
	91	10/11	90.9		19/19	100.0		79	3/5	60.0		2/2	100.0	
TOTALS		163/172	94.8		110/111	99.1			60/100	60.0		49/53	92.5	

TABLE 6.2. Unrealized Past Tense Involving Final Consonant Clusters

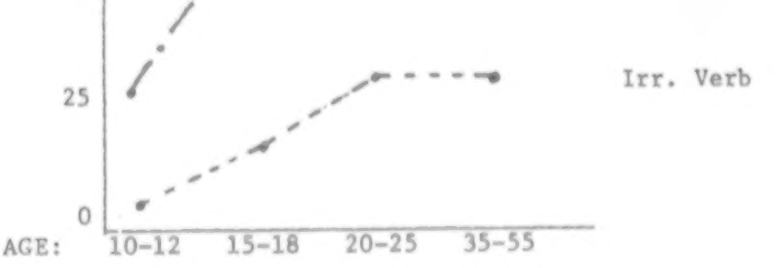
RESIDENCY

		1-3 Years							4-7 Years					
		Lexical Clusters		Past Clusters		Irregular			Lexical Clusters		Past Clusters		Irregular	
Age	Subj	No/T	$\bar{M}$%	No/T	$\bar{M}$%				No/T	$\bar{M}$%	No/T	$\bar{M}$%	M/T	$\bar{M}$
10-12	33	14/20	80.0	27/30	91.0	168/324	49.6	19	11/20	52.5	7/22	29.8	14/243	7.5
	34	18/20		34/37		141/298		42	10/20		5/18		12/131	
15-18	39	13/14	89.0	32/33	98.5	120/290	43.8	29	13/18	78.6	8/10	65.0	18/156	17.6
	47	17/20		7/7		41/89		50	17/20		4/8		13/55	
20-25	27	17/20	89.7	19/19	98.4	116/178	61.8	77	14/20	82.5	18/20	95.0	43/128	33.3
	58	17/18		30/31		123/211		89	19/20		10/10		34/103	
35-55	24	10/16	76.3	4/4	95.5	16/23	53.9	74	18/20	88.3	5/7	65.7	32/78	33.0
	91	18/20		10/11		48/127		79	13/15		3/5		8/32	
TOTAL		124/148	83.8	163/172	95.9	773/1540	52.2		115/153	75.2	60/100	63.9	174/926	18.8

TABLE 6.3. Comparison of Lexical Final Cluster Reduction, Regular Past Tense Cluster Reduction and Irregular Verb Unmarked Tense.



(a) 1-3 years in US



(b) 4-7 years in US

Figure 6.2. Comparison of Past Tense Cluster Reduction, Lexical Cluster Reduction and Unmarked Past Tense for Irregular Verb Forms by Age and Length of Residency

most socially diagnostic linguistic context for reduction. (Followed by a consonant, standard English speakers reveal reduction to some extent so cluster reduction is not obtrusive in this environment) In Figure 6.2, the results of these two tabulations are then compared with the figures for unmarked tense reduction on irregular verb forms in order to establish the interaction of phonological and grammatical bases for surface unmarked tense.

The parallel processes of cluster reduction on lexical and past tense clusters evident in Table 6.3 clearly supports the phonological basis of some cases of unmarked tense. At the same time, however, the figures suggest that a phonological transfer rule is not an exclusive explanation for past tense absence involving clusters. If it were an exclusive explanation, we would not expect to find the incidence of lexical cluster reduction lower than that of lexical clusters. In all other studies of the general process of cluster reduction as a phonological rule (e.g. Labov 1969; Wolfram 1969; Fasold 1972; Guy 1977; Baugh 1979) lexical, or monomorphemic clusters, reveal a higher incidence of reduction than grammatically-involved, or "bimorphemic" clusters. Yet, for the group of speakers who have resided in the U.S. from 1-3 years, the incidence of lexical cluster reduction is lower than that for past tense clusters. This suggests that it is not cluster reduction alone that leads to unmarked tense. Instead, we have convergent phonologically and grammatically-based processes.

The end result of the potential grammatical and phonological processes seems to be additive in that grammatically-based tense unmarking added to phonologically-based cluster reduction leads to extensive surface unmarking for cluster-formed past tense forms. In other words, a certain proportion of unmarked tense results from the application of the variable grammatical rule. For those cases that emerge from the variable grammatical rule marked for tense, a phonological rule may apply to reduce those that potentially end in a cluster.

The phonological rule operates on the output of the grammatical rule, resulting in surface tense unmarking at significantly higher levels than that found for forms subject only to the grammatical rule, as is the typical case for irregular past tense forms, or the phonological rule, as is the cse for lexical clusters.

A second form of regular past tense formation also involves a possible phonological convergence, namely the final /d/ singleton. As mentioned previously, the source language does not have an isomorphic correspondence for /d/; however, it does have the voiceless counterpart /t/, which makes the two systems closer for final /d/ than they are for final clusters. In Tables 6.4 and 6.5, we have tabulated the incidence of /d/ singleton absence for regular past tense forms (Table 6.4) and for lexical /d/ (Table 6.5). The linguistic context is differentiated according to a following non-consonant versus a following consonant. In our tabulation, we only consider the distinction between the absence of a final /d/ and non-absence. This means that a voiceless counterpart of /d/, some phonetic form of /t/ (typically as unreleased [t] or glottal stop [ʔ], is considered underlying /d/ presence. This classification seems appropriate since the [t] realization of target language d would still phonetically mark past tense. In other words, items such as stayed as /stet/ or freed as /frit/ would be classified as marking past tense /d/ even though a voiceless correspondence of the target norm is actually produced. Figure 6.3 provides a summary graphic display of past tense /d/ absence, lexical /d/ absence, and unmarked tense on irregular verbs so that we can again examine possible relationships betwen the phonological and grammatical dimensions of tense unmarking.

Several observations may be made on the basis of Tables 6.4 and 6.5. For one, the incidence of lexical /d/ absence is consistently lower than past tense absence. This parallels the pattern observed for lexical and past tense cluster

RESIDENCY

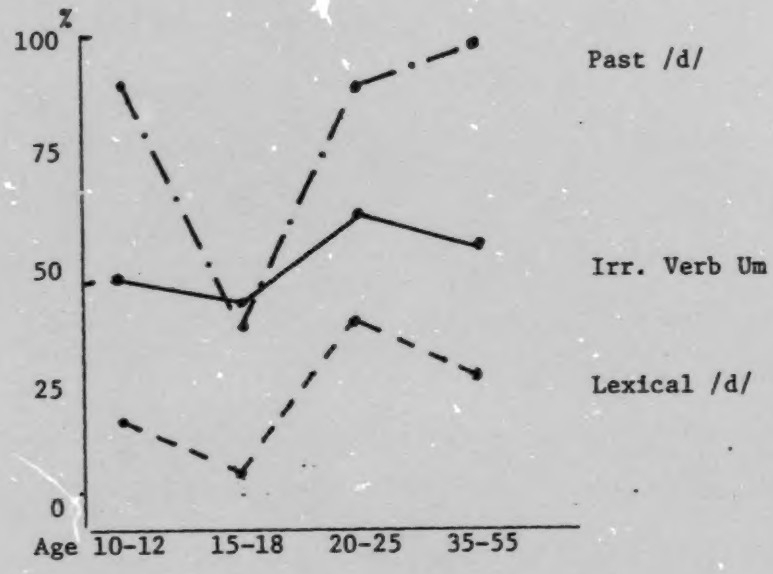
		1-3 Years						4-7 Years				
		Non C	C					Non C	C			
Age	Subj	Abs/T	Abs/T	Tot	%	M	Subj	Abs/T	Abs/T	Tot	%	M
10-12	33	6/7	7/7	13/14	92.9	88.8	19	0/8	1/1	1/9	11.1	5.6
	34	9/11	2/2	11/13	84.6		42	0/1	-	0/1	0.0	
15-18	39	6/8	6/6	12/14	85.7	42.9	29	3/4	4/5	7/9	77.8	63.9
	47	0/2	-	0/2	0.0		50	0/1	1/1	1/2	50.0	
20-25	27	7/8	7/8	14/16	87.5	88.5	77	4/4	1/1	5/5	100.0	100.0
	58	15/15	2/4	17/19	89.5		89	4/4	5/5	9/9	100.0	
35-55	24	1/1	-	1/1	100.0	100.0	74	-	2/2	2/2	100.0	75.0
	91	-	5/5	5/5	100.0		79	2/4	-	2/4	50.0	
TOTAL		44/52	29/32	73/84				13/26	14/15	27/41		
		84.6%	90.6%	86.9%				50.0%	93.3%	65.9%		

TABLE 6.4. Absence of final d on Regular Verb Forms

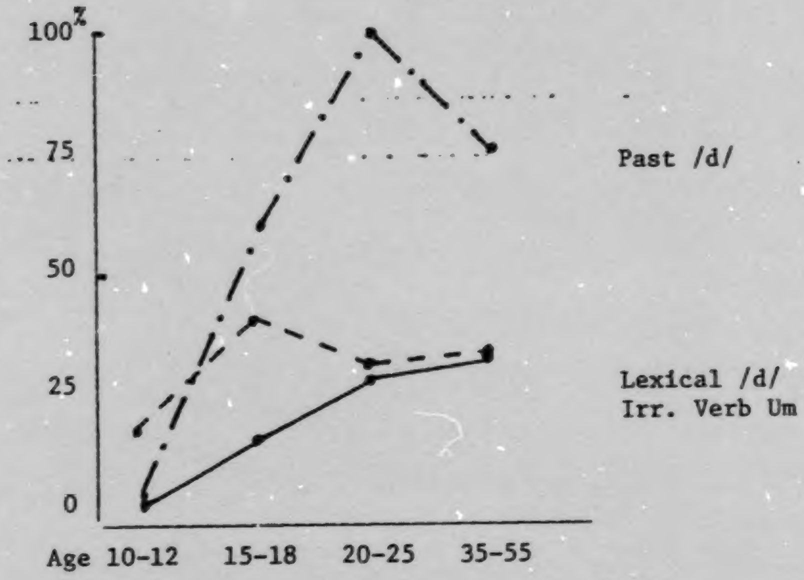
RESIDENCY

		1-3 Years						4-7 Years				
		Non C	C					Non C	C			
Age	Subj.	Abs/T	Abs/T	Tot	%	M	Subj	Abs/T	Abs /T	Tot	%	M
10-12	33	3/15	4/10	7/25	28.0	22.0	19	1/18	3/7	4/25	16.0	19.1
	34	1/15	3/10	4/25	16.0		42	0/4	4/14	4/18	22.2	
15-18	39	3/16	1/9	4/25	16.0	14.0	29	5/12	8/11	13/23	56.5	42.3
	47	2/15	1/10	3/25	12.0		50	2/19	5/6	7/25	28.0	
20-25	27	3/16	5/9	8/25	32.0	41.0	77	0/9	4/16	4/25	16.0	32.0
	58	6/11	1/3	7/14	50.0		89	5/11	7/14	12/25	48.0	
35-55	24	2/11	0/5	2/16	12.5	30.3	74	2/8	-	2/8	25.0	32.5
	91	4/14	8/11	12/25	48.0		79	4/14	6/11	10/25	40.0	
TOTALS		24/113	23/67	47/180				19/95	37/79	56/174		
		21.2%	34.3%	26.1%				20.0%	46.8%	32.2%		

TABLE 6.5. Absence of Final Lexical d, followed by Non-Consonant and Consonant



1-3 Years



4-7 Years

Figure 6.3. Comparison of Past Tense /d/ Absence, Lexical /d/ Absence, and Unmarked Irregular Past Tense Forms, by Age and Length of Residency

reduction. However, in this case the proportional difference between the lexical and past tense form is much greater. For the most part, past tense /d/ absence is very high compared wth lexical /d/ absence. This difference raises a question concerning a simple explanation for past /d/ deletion as a product of additive phonological and grammatical transfer processes. It appears that there may be some other explanation involved here, in addition to the simple phonological and grammatical transfer processes. We speculate that the additional consideration involves learning strategy differences related to regular and irregular language patterns. Irregular forms, learned through rote memorization, and regular forms, learned by the cognitive assimilation of patterns, typically occur at different points in the acquisitional sequence, and this difference might be reflected here. Other things being equal (i.e. if there were no potential phonological transfer source), we still would expect some irregular forms to be acquired before the regular marking pattern was acquired. There is certainly support for this observation in the learning of English tense marking patterns by native speakers of English learning the verb system (Brown 1973:311-312). Some support for our speculation also comes from the fact that the youngest age group of speakers who have resided in the United States 4-7 years reveal very infrequent past tense /d/ deletion; they are also the one group in the corpus that reveals considerably less past tense /d/ deletion than unmarked tense for irregular verbs. It is not coincidental that this is the group of speakers most likely to assimilate extensive language patterning vis-a-vis rote memorization. Thus, what we may have revealed in our data is a sequenced learning strategy in which irregular forms are being learned prior to the regular past tense formation rule. As mentioned, this does not necessarily rule out the phonological process as an explanation, but it may be considered along with it.

There is one other phonological form of the regular past tense that we have not yet included, namely, the so-called "long" form /Id/ which occurs following an alveolar stop (e.g. /tritId/'treated', /kauntId/'counted'). The incidence of past tense deletion for long forms is found in Table 6.6. At this point, we have not conducted a comparable tabulation of lexical unstressed /Id/ deletion, but such syllables might also be subject to phonological transfer from the source language because of Vietnamese's preference for monosyllabic items (Sato 1983:6).

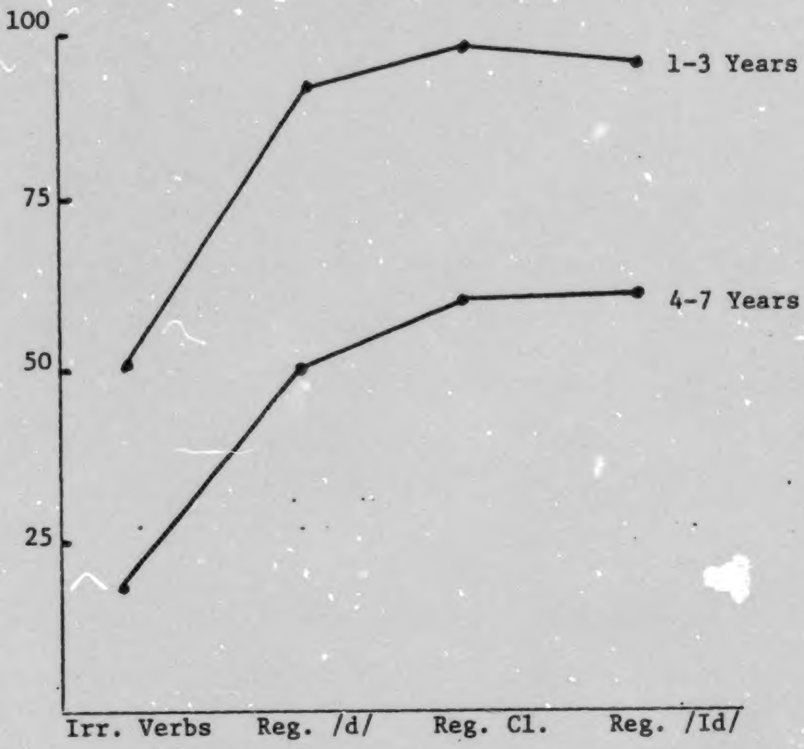
Again, we find a pattern indicating the high frequency unmarking on a regular phonological form of the past tense. We are impressed with the relatively high level of absence apparently regardless of the significance of the phonological transfer process. In all cases of regular past tense formation the incidence of unmarked tense is higher than it is for irregular past tense forms. Consider, for example, the summary graph of the three phonological forms of the regular past tense marking as compared with the irregular unmarked tense in Figure 6.4. For convenience here, we have only given the summary figures for the 1-3 year and the 4-7 year group.

Figure 6.4 clearly supports our observation that all phonological shapes of the regular form of unmarked tense have a higher incidence of unmarking than irregular forms. At the same time, there appears to be a pattern, at least for /Id/ and clusters, wherein past tense clusters tend to have a higher incidence of unmarking than past tense /d/ singleton. This difference seems reasonably attributed to the general difference in the phonological effect of cluster reduction vis-a-vis final /d/ deletion in the language transfer process. However, the consistently high incidence of tense unmarking regardless of phonological shape suggests that general acquisitional differences between regular patterns and irregular forms intersects with the phonological transfer processes

RESIDENCY

	1-3 Years			4-7 Years		
Age	Subj	Abs/T	%	Subj	Abs/T	%
10-12	33	1/1		19	5/14	
	34	-		42	0/1	
15-18	39	6/6		29	1/2	
	47	1/2		50	2/3	
20-25	27	2/2		77	5/8	
	58	1/2		89	2/3	
35-55	24	3/3		74	10/10	
	91	1/1		79	-	
		15/17	88.2		25/41	61.0

TABLE 6.6. Absence of /Id/ on Regular Verb Forms



Percentage of Unmarked

	1-3 Years	4-7 Years
Irreg. Verb	50.2	18.8
Reg /d/	86.6	50.0
Reg. Clusters	94.8	60.0
Reg. /Id/	88.2	61.0

Figure 6.4. Comparison of Unmarked Irregular Verb Forms with Different Phonological Realizations of Regular Verb

to account for the actual extent of differences between regular and irregular forms. Realistically, then, we have to admit that phonological transfer processes, grammatical transfer processes, and generalized language-learning strategies all probably have a role in the actual tense unmarking patterns observed.

Variation in Irregular Verbs

As we examined the details of variation related to the different phonological shapes of the regular past tense, we treated irregular forms as if there were no variation among the subtypes of irregular forms. We are now at a point where we must challenge this assumption to see if it is empirically justified. And, if it is not justified, are there effects that systematically constrain variation among different irregular forms?

We can initiate our examination of irregular verb types by simply looking at the tense marking patterns for five of the most frequently occurring irregular verbs in our corpus. This will insure that we have an adequate type-token representation for individual speakers as well as for the groups of speakers represented in our subsample. In our corpus, frequently-occurring forms include the tense-carrying forms of be (e.g. am, is, or are versus was and were) auxiliary and main verb have, auxiliary and main verb do/don't, come, and go. While the high frequency of these forms in our corpus may be attributed to some extent to the type of interview and the topics under discussion, all of these verbs are generally high-frequency English verbs. In Table 6.7, we have tabulated the incidence of unmarked past tense for each of these verbs for the 16 individual speakers in our subsample, along with summary figures for each verb form.

An examination of the five different verb forms suggests that the assumption of uniformity with respect to irregular verb forms is not justified. At the upper scale of unmarking is the form have, and at the lower spectrum are the

RESIDENCY

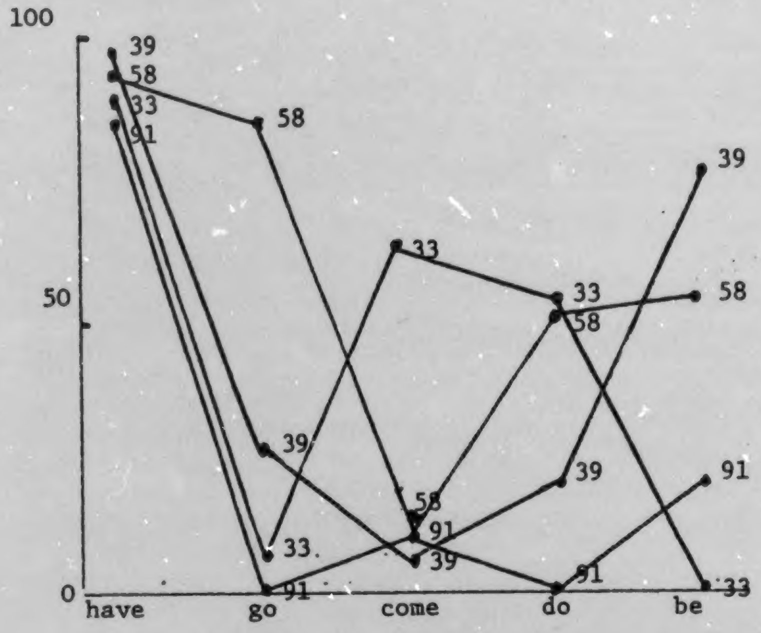
		1-3 Years						4-7 Years				
		{is are}/{was were}	have/had	come/came	go/went	{do don't}/{did didn't}		{is are}/{was were}	have/had	come/came	go/went	{do don't}/{did didn't}
Age	Subj	Um/T	Um/T	Um/T	Um/T	Um/T	Subj	Um/T	Um/T	Um/T	Um/T	Um/t
10-12	33	0/47	31/35	16/28	4/40	16/31	19	1/87	0/13	1/8	1/29	2/18
	34	1/80	20/20	19/19	15/19	2/27	42	0/45	1/15	0/2	1/17	3/11
15-18	39	24/32	37/38	6/44	1/4	9/50	29	2/55	10/25	0/1	1/19	0/15
	47	4/18	16/18	1/12	-	4/15	50	3/6	2/4	0/1	0/13	1/7
20-25	27	11/21	14/16	9/12	19/24	11/36	77	5/36	11/14	5/13	6/14	4/14
	58	7/13	52/56	3/21	5/6	8/17	89	1/39	6/13	0/1	12/17	4/14
35-55	24	3/6	2/2	1/1	3/6	-	74	15/31	1/2	0/6	2/3	0/1
	91	7/39	19/22	1/8	0/7	0/19	79	0/3	4/5	0/7	0/2	0/2
TOTAL		57/256	191/207	56/145	47/106	50/195		27/302	35/91	6/39	23/114	14/82
% of Unmarked		22.3	92.3	38.6	44.3	25.6		8.9	38.5	15.4	20.2	17.1

TABLE 6.7. Distribution of Unmarked Tense for Five Frequently Occurring Irregular Verbs

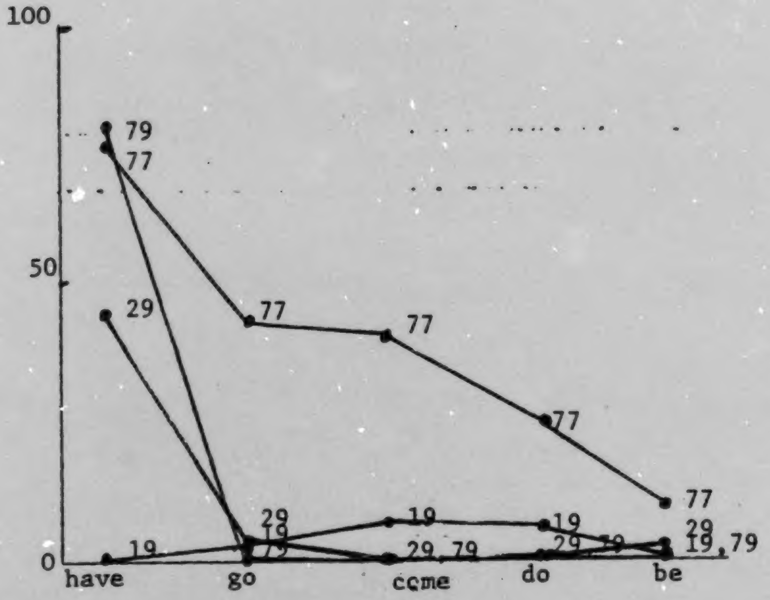
tense-carrying forms of be. With drastic differences in the incidence of unmarked past tense for these forms (an overall difference of approximately 65 percentage points for the 1-3 year residency group and a difference of approximately 30 percentage points for the 4-7 year group), this variation hardly seems attributable to chance. The observed difference raises several important questions for the study of variation. One important question is whether these patterns are consistent for different individuals within groups. In other words, do the overall group patterns accurately portray an individual speaker's behavior? Another essential question concerns the linguistic patterning of the observed variation. Are the differences between items organizable on some basis extend beyond particular lexical items, or are they simply lexical constraints?

In order to examine the question of individual versus group patterning, we can examine some cases of individual variation. This is done in Figure 6.5, where we have graphed the distribution of unmarked tense by verb form for one speaker in each of the cells of our samples. Different graphic representations are given for the speakers in the 1-3 year and 4-7 year length of residency.

Figure 6.5 presents a somewhat disparate picture of variation for the five different lexical items represented. At the same time that we observe some consistent patterns across individuals, we also find some obvious cases of individual variation. For example, we find that have is consistently the item with the highest incidence of unmarked tense. At the same time, be is typically, but not categorically a low frequency item. At times, the individual variation seems dramatic. Thus, Subject 33 has a high frequency of unmarked tense for come. The pattern is reversed for Subject 58, however, who has a low frequency of unmarked tense for come but a high incidence for go. And Subject 39 shows a high incidence of unmarked tense for be and a low incidence of unmarking for do,



1-3 years



4-7 years

Figure 6.5. Incidence of Unmarked Tenses for Irregular Verb Forms, By Individual Speakers

a pattern which is the opposite of Subject 33. We thus must admit that there can be considerable variation constrained by the lexical item. In making this observation, however, we note that this is much truer of those speakers in the 1-3 year range than it is for those in the 4-7 year range.

Part of the patterning described above might be explained on the basis of language-learning strategies. Since tense marking for irregular forms is essentially learned as a rote task, we would expect subjects in the earlier stages of acquisition to selectively learn tense marking for some items at the expense of others. Thus, one subject might selectively focus on an item such as be while another might focus on do or go. As the acquisitional process continues we would expect a less selective focusing on particular lexical items and a more consistent approach to irregular verbs. Thus, we have the leveling of individual differences for the subjects in the 4-7 year range, who presumably reflect a more advanced stage in the L2 learning process. The disparate pattern that we have observed thus seems to be attributable to the nature of the structures involved and the level of advancement in the L2 acquisitional course.

While accounting for differences in individual subjects, we are still left with some dominant, if not exceptionless, patterns to explain. Why, for example, is unmarked tense for have consistently high while be is typically low? Is there any basis for explanation in terms of linguistic form? As it turns out, the five lexical items we have tabulated in Table 6.7 represent four distinct types of irregular past tense formation. Although there are a number of different ways of classifying irregular past tense forms (e.g. Hoard and Sloat 1973; Quirk and Greenbaum 1973), any reasonable account must recognize at least four categories of formation: 1) suppletive forms such as is/was and go/went; 2) internal vowel changes such as come/came and sit/sat; 3) internal vowel changes plus a regular suffix as in do/did or keep/kept, and 4) final d or t consonant replacement, as in have/had or make/made. The five lexical items we have tabulated represent all four types, with go and be representing suppletive forms, have representing replacives, come representing internal vowel change, and do representing vowel change plus regular suffix.

Table 6.8 presents the incidence of unmarked tense for all irregular verbs in our corpus by irregular verb types, and Figure 6.6 portrays a graphic representation of the overall figures by length of residency.

On the basis of Table 6.8 and Figure 6.6 it is concluded that irregular verb type appears to be a constraint on the incidence of unmarked tense. Although we must certainly allow for some individual deviation as discussed above, particularly for speakers in the 1-3 year range, we seem to have isolated a systematic constraint related to linguistic form. Final consonant replacives effect the highest incidence of unmarked tense, followed by internal vowel change, internal vowel change plus final regular formation, and suppletive forms. On one level, this hierarchy seems to correlate with the degree of phonetic difference in the irregular past tense formation. At the low end of the spectrum, we have suppletive forms, which involve a complete replacement of the form, then we have a form difference involving an internal vowel and final consonant, then an internal vowel only, and finally, simply replacement of a final consonant. The principle that seems to be involved here can be stated as follows: the more distant phonetically the past form is from the non-past, the more likely it will be marked for tense. Suppletive forms are obviously the most distant and final replacive consonants the least. It should also be noted that final replacive consonants are the most likely to involve phonological convergence, given the source language limitations on final consonants. Potentially, internal vowel changes might involve phonological convergence as

		Repl		Suff/Vowel		Vowel		Suppletive		Length of Residency
Age	Subj	Unm/T	%	Unm/T	%	Unm/T	%	Unm/T	%	
10-12	33	38/42	90.5	50/88	56.8	76/107	71.0	4/87	4.6	1 - 3 years
	34	23/23	100.0	42/85	49.4	60/91	65.9	16/99	16.2	
15-18	39	38/39	97.4	28/115	24.1	24/99	24.3	30/36	83.3	
	47	17/19	89.5	14/28	50.0	6/24	25.0	4/18	22.2	
20-25	27	20/23	87.0	26/53	49.1	40/57	70.2	30/45	66.7	
	58	60/64	93.8	20/56	35.7	31/72	43.1	12/19	63.2	
35-55	24	2/2	100.0	0/3	0.0	6/6	100.0	6/12	50.0	
	91	21/24	87.5	2/27	7.4	11/30	36.7	7/46	15.2	
Total		219/236	92.8	182/455	40.0	254/436	52.3	109/362	30.1	
10-12	19	1/14	7.1	5/48	10.4	6/65	9.3	2/116	1.7	4 - 7 years
	42	1/16	6.3	8/41	19.5	2/12	16.7	1/62	1.6	
15-18	29	10/27	37.0	1/24	4.2	4/31	12.9	3/74	4.1	
	50	2/4	50.0	1/16	6.3	7/16	43.8	3/19	15.8	
20-25	77	15/18	83.3	7/31	22.6	10/29	34.5	11/50	22.0	
	89	10/17	58.8	4/14	28.6	7/16	43.8	13/56	23.2	
35-55	74	4/5	80.0	2/7	28.6	9/32	28.1	17/34	50.0	
	79	5/6	83.3	0/7	0.0	3/14	21.4	0/5	0.0	
Total		48/107	44.9	28/188	14.9	48/215	22.3	50/416	12.0	

TABLE 6.8. Unmarked Tense by Type of Irregular Past Tense Formation

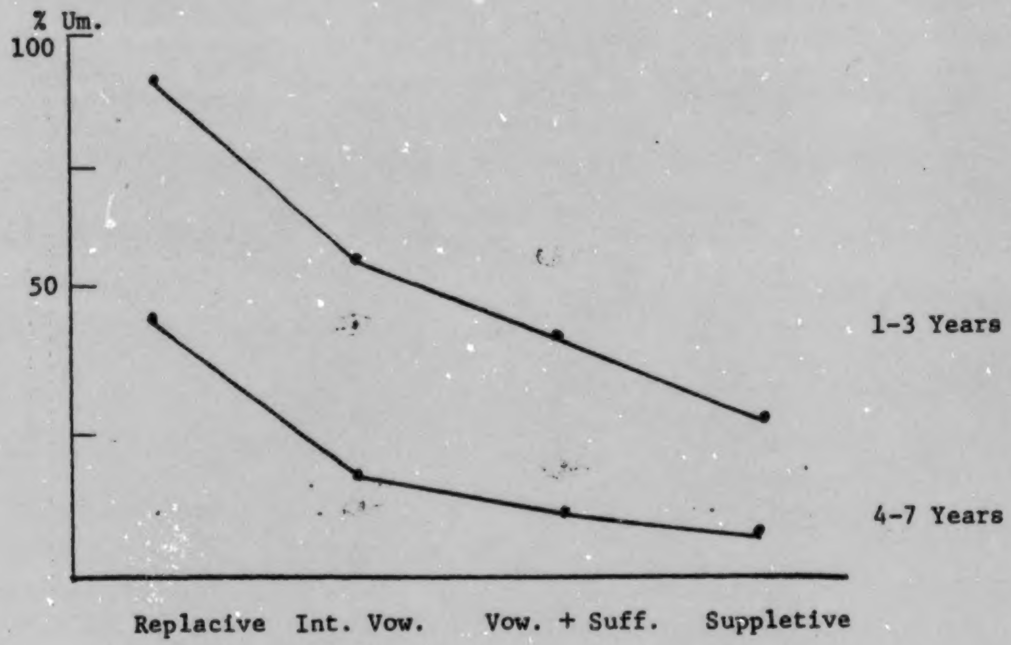


Figure 6.6. Unmarked Tense for Replacives, Internal Vowel, Vowel+Suffix, and Suppletive Forms of Irregular Verbs, by Length of Residency

well since the vowel system of the source language is quite different from the target system, except that most vowel changes for irregular forms are located in phonetic space corresponding to contrastive units within the source language. Thus, the source language may not have an isomorphic correspondences between a vowel contrast such as /I/ and /æ/ (e.g. *sing*/*sang*, *sit/sat*) or /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ (*fall*/*fell*), but the phonetic location of these vowels in the source language (e.g. [i] and [a] for English [I] and [æ]) is sufficiently disparate to involve different vowel units phonologically. Some phonetic transfer may be involved, but basic contrasts still can be realized. Notwithstanding the minimization of phonological transfer for the internal vowel changes, the change of one unit within a shape is less drastic than one involving an internal unit and a final segment or a completely different shape. It appears then, that the constraint involving different irregular forms is, in part, a principled one, perhaps reduced to the degree of phonetic difference. We shall not here speculate as to whether the principle is more related to learning behavior or linguistic form *per se*, but simply observe that these options are not necessarily in conflict.

One additional tabulation has been undertaken related to tense marking and irregular verb forms, this one related to verb frequency. It is recalled here that the verb forms chosen for our original tabulation were high-frequency items in the corpus. Because they are high-frequency items, we want to see if they are typical representatives of the particular verb class. Thus, we have undertaken a tabulation in which we separate from other items in the class the particular lexical item chosen for replacives, internal vowel change, and vowel + suffix change. We have not done this for suppletive forms, since *go* and *be* are, for all practical purposes, the only items in the class. Figures in Table 6.9 compare unmarked tense for *have* versus other replacives, *come* versus other internal vowel changes, and *do* versus other vowel + suffix changes. Summary figures are given for each of these three verb subclasses by length of residency.

		Replacives (F=have)		Vowel (F=come)		Vowel+Suffix (F=do)	
		No. Um/T	%	No. Um/T	%	No. Um/T	%
1-3 Years	Freq	191/207	92.3	56/145	38.6	50/195	25.6
	Other	28/29	96.6	198/341	58.1	134/261	51.3
4-7 Years	Freq	35/91	38.5	6/39	15.4	14/82	17.1
	Other	13/16	81.3	42/176	23.9	14/106	13.2

Table 6.9. Incidence of Unmarked Tense for Frequent Irregular Verbs Versus Others, by Irregular Type and Length of Residency.

With one exception (do versus other internal change plus suffix verbs for the 4-7 year group), the contention that frequently occurring verbs are more likely to be marked for tense is supported. We are not certain at this point as to how strong the frequency constraint is in relation to other constraints, but it is apparent that it cannot be ignored.

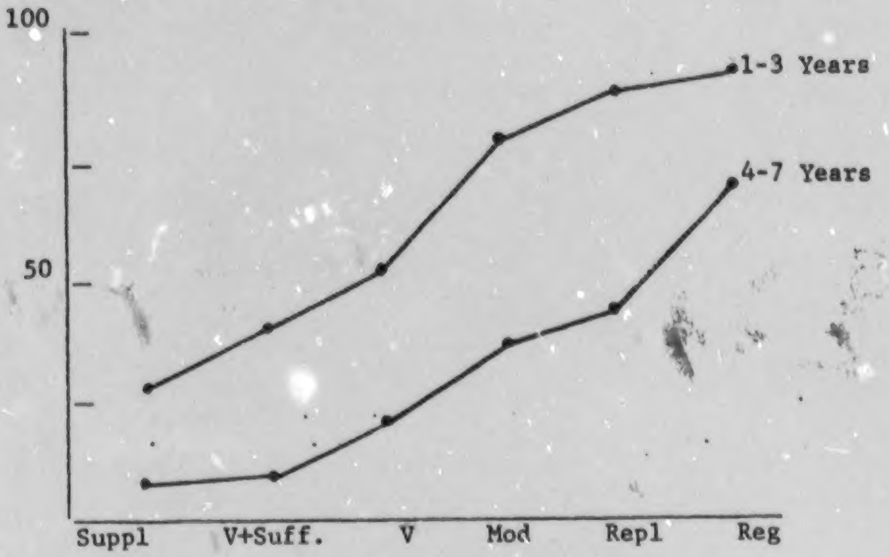
Our final category of tense marking form has been tabulated in the present study, namely the modals can/could and will/would. In Table 6.10, we have tabulated for each of the subjects the incidence of unmarked tense for the modals, and in Figure 6.7, we compare these figures for the two residency groups with the figures for the four types of irregular forms and the regular forms. In our tabulation, we have limited the examples of modals to those having a tense carrying function (e.g. Last year we could not speak English) as opposed to the mood-marking function of these forms (e.g. If he could come here, he would).

The summary figure indicates that the overall incidence of unmarked tense on the modals is generally higher than all irregular forms except replacives. It is interesting to note that its incidence is higher than the class of irregular

RESIDENCY

			1-3 Years					4-7 Years		
Age	Subj	Can	Will	Total	%Um	Subj	Can	Will	Total	%Um
10-12	33	13/17	0/3	13/20	65.0	19	0/4	0/2	0/6	0.0
	34	10/10	-	10/10	100.0	42	0/6	1/3	1/9	11.1
15-18	39	20/20	8/11	28/31	90.3	29	2/4	0/12	2/16	12.5
	47	1/6	1/2	2/8	25.0	50	1/1	0/1	1/2	50.0
20-25	27	22/22	5/10	27/32	84.4	77	11/11	-	11/11	100.0
	58	2/2	-	2/2	100.0	89	1/1	0/2	1/3	33.3
35-55	24	-	-	-	-	74	4/9	-	4/9	44.4
	91	6/6	1/1	7/7	100.0	79	2/2	-	2/2	100.0
TOTAL		74/83	15/27	89/110	80.9		21/38	1/20	22/58	37.9

TABLE 6.10. Unmarked Tense for Modals *will* and *can*, By Age and Length of Residency



Verb Type	Percentage Unmarked	
	1-3 Years	4-7 Years
Regular	94.7	68.5
Replacive	92.8	44.7
Modal	80.9	37.9
Int. Vow.	52.3	22.3
Vow+Suff.	39.9	14.3
Suppletive	30.1	12.0

Figure 6.7. Incidence of Unmarked Tense by Verb Type

forms which it might be placed into on the basis of its phonological shape, the internal vowel change plus suffix. At the same time, it is not as extensive as unmarked tense for regular tense and the replacive class of irregular forms. It is recalled here that regular forms are subject to phonological convergence and that replacive forms of the irregular seem to be the class with the highest potential for phonological convergence. Our observations here about the unmarking potential for modals matches that of other studies (e.g. Wolfram *et al* 1979:77) in which it was found that modals tended to favor higher tense unmarking. This was attributed to their reduced potential in marking temporality in English vis-a-vis their other functions (e.g. potentiality, conditionality, etc.) In our earlier study, we concluded that "with diminished function of a tense marking for modals to begin with...there is lessened pressure to conform to the mainstream norm of past tense marking" (Wolfram *et al* 1979:77). The same reasoning might hold here in attempting to account for the differential marking of tense for modals as compared with other irregular past tense forms.

Conclusion

The preceding sections have demonstrated that unmarked tense in Vietnamese English can be a highly variable phenomenon and that this characteristic can be quite persistent in L2 learning. While it is highly variable, there are a number of constraints that favor the incidence of unmarking in a structured way. A basic constraint on unmarked tense involves regular and irregular verbs, which can be explained to some extent on the basis of phonologically versus grammatically-derived processes. However, the phonological versus grammatical explanation is not an exclusive one, and a further appeal to learning strategies is also warranted in accounting for differences for regular and irregular verb forms. Within the major categories of regular versus irregular forms, we have isolated finer constraints on the incidence of unmarked tense, including the type of phonological shape for regular forms and the type of past tense formation for irregular forms. We have also recognized the possibility that verb frequency is a factor to be considered in accounting for differential incidence in unmarking. Furthermore, we have had to recognize a lexical dimension interacting with linguistic form to explain some of the variation.

The overall picture that emerges, then, is one which is fairly complex. An appeal to simple linguistic transfer or second language learning strategies hardly seems appropriate. Instead, dimensions of language transfer mix with generalized learning strategies and linguistic form to explain the systematic variability involved.

Although we have focused on linguistic form in our analysis, we do not mean to exclude other linguistic or extra-linguistic considerations that may constrain unmarked tense. In fact, an earlier study (Wolfram et al 1979) showed that unmarked tense could become fossilized as an aspectual marker, and other studies have shown that discourse factors (Godfrey 1980; Wolfson 1982) can also constrain unmarked tense. Our future studies will certainly explore such factors for the data presented here. However, a word of caution is in order. With the faddish concern for discourse strategies and generalized interlanguage structuring in L2 learning, basic considerations of surface form, language transfer, and low-level linguistic processes have sometimes been overlooked. Our exploratory study has shown that such dismissal can be premature. Considerations of higher level language organization may have to be considered, but it is unlikely that the factors uncovered here can be ultimately disregarded. Indeed, we expect the unraveling picture of unmarked tense in interlanguage to involve an array of factors ranging from the higher to the lower levels of linguistic organization. Knowledge of low-level linguistic processes and surface considerations hardly seems like an unreasonable starting point and studies of higher level linguistic organization will have to reconcile themselves with the kinds of systematic constraints uncovered here.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Emerging Variety of English in the Vietnamese Community

Introduction

Our discussion of language patterns in the Vietnamese refugee community so far has dealt with particular language structures that characterize the variety as it exists today. We have looked for the underlying forces that shape the variation on individual features and compared the incidence of some structures according to social characteristics of the sample, including age group and length of residence in the United States. With this information in hand, we can now go on to consider how we might describe the variety as a whole, and suggest the direction in which it is developing.

The influx of Vietnamese refugees into the United States within the last decade has affected the language situation in many communities, as these large groups of non-native speakers adapt to an English-speaking environment. While many adult refugees focus on learning enough English to cope with everyday life, younger adults and adolescents are using English in a greater number of contexts. As we would expect, they typically exhibit greater facility with the language than their parents and grandparents. As the numbers of fluent English speakers, particularly in the younger generations, increase in the community, a variety of English is developing which will be the product of the various forces we have been discussing. Language attitudes, patterns of usage, and other social factors interact with influences such as language learning strategies and native language transfer to determine the direction of development. This situation presents a prime opportunity to examine whether or not an ethnically identifiable variety of English is emerging within this community.

The acquisition of English among recent refugees to the United States is obviously a matter of considerable significance, as members of these groups attempt to acclimate themselves to life in this country under an abrupt shift in social circumstances. While there are a number of similarities between these refugee groups and other non-native English speaking residents, there are some obvious special considerations that have to be taken into account in viewing the sociolinguistic situation for these populations, including the circumstances of their migration here and their relatively short history as a significant segment of their communities. Since we are dealing with the Vietnamese community in the Northern Virginia area, we have the advantage of observing language usage in one of the oldest communities in the country. The region as we have seen, has been a prime settlement area for Vietnamese refugees since Saigon fell in 1975, and it had some roots even prior to that.

The language profile of this refugee community has been drawn in much more detail in earlier chapters (Two and Three), but we can review some general characteristics here. For the most part, adults came to the United States with limited English (if any at all), and many of them still restrict their use of this language to situations where their interlocutors do not know Vietnamese. Basically, they tend to speak Vietnamese whenever possible. Adolescents and young adults, on the other hand, face a much more transitional situation and can now be observed using English with their Vietnamese peers as well as with non-Vietnamese speakers. There were, within our sample, even some individuals who indicated that their knowledge of Vietnamese was minimal and they were not at all comfortable when they were forced to communicate in that language. There is some pressure on the younger generations to maintain certain Vietnamese characteristics, including language, and some go to Vietnamese language school in addition to their regular schooling. There is also social pressure, however, to accommodato to the surrounding English-speaking community, and we observe movement toward an English variety that is used in an expanding set of contexts. It is, of course, impossible to predict how the dynamics of the community will evolve, but a common pattern among immigrant groups shows English taking on increasing importance and the ethnic language fading, particularly as new generations are native-born and grow up in this country. Typically, though, the variety of English that develops retains a certain degree of ethnic identification.

Characteristics of "Vietnamese English"

Many of the structural details of adult English in this community may be explained largely in terms of traditional models of second language acquisition, including specific language transfer from the native language or generalized language learning strategies. For the adolescents and young adults, though, we must go beyond simple acquisitional models. Their English reveals a balance of the indigenous language substrata, either direct or more indirect from parental influence, with assimilation to the English variety chosen as a model. It is well known that other varieties of English have dynamically integrated influences from other languages along with particular community norms, resulting in unique ethnic and social varieties. Previous research has documented numerous examples of this process, including Puerto Rican English in New York City (Wolfram 1974a), Italian-American English in Boston (Biondi 1975), Chicano English in the Southwest (Metcalf 1979; Peñalosa 1980), and Pueblo Indian English in the Southwest (Wolfram *et al* 1979). We can now look for evidence as to how the various influences are being integrated in Vietnamese English based on the results of the descriptive analysis of language features presented in earlier chapters.

The values and attitudes shared by community members, discussed in Chapters Two and Three, set the scene for the investigation of broader patterns of variation. The pressure to move toward English is apparently quite strong among the younger groups, who are motivated to succeed in the educational system and achieve success in their careers. As might be expected, though, the representation of language forms across the age groups of the community covers a wide range, given the ages, length of residency in this country, and varying degrees of fluency in English due to educational opportunities and other factors. We find numerous features that are to be expected from speakers who acquire English as a second language after Vietnamese (in some cases, it is the third language, after French as well). There is phonological variation (Chapter Five), including final obstruent devoicing (/fut/ for *food*), consonant cluster reduction in both initial and final positions (/go/ for *grow*, /tos/ for *toast*), stopping of interdental fricatives (/doz/ for *those*) and other consonant and vowel modifications. Morphosyntactically, we find absence of the plural, possessive, and third person singular agreement suffixes, copula and auxiliary absence, and inversion in indirect questions (*I wonder where did they go*) (Chapter Four). There is also a significant incidence of unmarked tense, as described in Chapter Six (as in *I don't have biology this year, I have it last year*).

Features that arise as a result of a language learning and language contact situation like this one can become fossilized for particular speakers and this potentially leads to stable substratal influence which serves to mark the variety as unique. Our current observations, however, lead us to believe that very few of the structures we investigated are becoming fossilized on a community-wide basis as the kind of ethnic marker that might live on in subsequent generations. A few candidates will be discussed shortly. A noteworthy, but not unexpected, accompanying observation has been the relative *absence* of traditionally stigmatized nonstandard forms (that is, those forms that do not coincide with general language learning strategies for the most part). Missing are the forms that might be assimilated from surrounding non-mainstream varieties of English. That is, of course, quite contrary to some other groups that have been investigated, but it appears to be right in line with the social value orientation of the community. Both of these observations will be commented on further in the discussion that follows.

We can begin by repeating, in summary form, the results of the analysis of selected grammatical features. Full details to support the quantitative data are presented in Chapters Four and Six. This chart, shown as Table 7.1, uncovers some very interesting patterns that emerge when we consider the whole picture. The percentages listed in the table reflect the frequency of (a) plural absence (as in *two dog*), (b) third person singular suffix absence (*she run*) and the specical case of *don't* with third person singular subjects, (c) multiple negation (*they can't see nothing*) and usage of *ain't*, and (d) unmarked tense with irregular verbs (those that do not take the regular suffix to form the past tense, such as *come/came*) and regular verbs (such as *look/looked*). These frequencies are arranged according to the social parameters of age group and length of residence in the United States.

Several patterns emerge quite clearly from the figures in Table 7.1. On the whole, the subjects who have been here longer, the 4 to 7 year group, show lower frequencies of nonstandard features than the 1 to 3 year group. Also, the younger speakers in general tend to follow the standard pattern to a greater extent than older speakers. Neither of these results is very surprising, given the background of the subjects and what we know about second language

Age Group \ Years in U.S.:	1 - 3	4 - 7
10-12	44%	10%
15-18	35%	12%
20-25	89%	21%
35-55	87%	74%

(a) Plural Absence

	3rd sg. -s abs.	don't	3rd sg. -s abs.	don't
10-12	93%	46%	32%	7%
15-18	95%	40%	41%	9%
20-25	94%	0%	81%	0%
35-55	93%	-	100%	0%

(b) Agreement Marking

	Mult. Neg.	ain't	Mult. Neg.	ain't
10-12	14%	0%	3%	0%
15-18	5%	0%	0%	0%
20-25	10%	0%	9%	0%
35-55	-	-	0%	0%

(c) Negation

	Irreg. Verb	Reg. Verb	Irreg. Verb	Reg. Verb
10-12	50%	93%	8%	35%
15-18	44%	86%	18%	76%
20-25	62%	97%	33%	92%
35-55	54%	99%	33%	78%

(d) Unmarked Tense

Table 7.1 Summary of the Incidence of Nonstandardness for Four Grammatical Structures

acquisition. Although all of these subjects were born outside the United States, the younger groups who have been in the U.S. over four years would have been as young as three years old, and no older than fourteen, when they arrived. (Subject 19, now 11, was four when he left Vietnam; Subject 54, now 17, was ten.) Thus, these younger subjects are acquiring English as children (and for some, it has clearly become the dominant language), before the physiological changes occur that affect language acquisition by adults (Krashen 1980). They also have undergone overt language training in the schools and have had more intensive exposure to English than the adult groups for the most part.

The second language acquisition dimension of the data comes out in other ways as well. The features of plural and agreement marking show weaker first language influence, according to Krashen (1981). Such bound morphology structures tend to follow the same pattern of acquisition, independent of the native language of the learner. Plural tends to precede third person singular suffix use in the acquisition hierarchy that has been proposed (Krashen 1981) and our data support that hypothesis. Unmarked tense has also been observed widely in second language situations and is clearly a significant feature here. The crucial factors, then, in movement toward standard usage for a learner would be age and degree or length of exposure to English. The results shown in Table 7.1 support such an interpretation for the situation under consideration.

Further, the direction of the variety as a whole as indicated here is central to the questions posed in this discussion. Variation from the standard may be attributed to interference from the native language, second language acquisition strategies, and assimilation to the English variety chosen as a model. In many cases of communities like this one, the model is a neighboring non-mainstream variety of English (Puerto Rican English in New York City is a prime example; see Wolfram (1974)). In this case, it would appear that the model for the Vietnamese community is in fact a mainstream, or standard, variety.

The distribution of nonstandard usage shown in Table 7.1 provides support for such a conclusion. The groups for whom English has a primary, even dominant role (the 10 to 12 and 15 to 18 year olds who have been here over four years) conform fairly closely to the standard pattern on the whole (we will consider the unmarked tense case again shortly). Also, the special cases of don't for agreement, and ain't for negation (as well as multiple negation in general) are striking in their standardness. Do is apparently being treated as any other verb in the third person singular pattern, rather than following the non-mainstream English tendency to have high frequencies of don't however the other third singular verbs are marked. The lack of ain't, on the other hand, would seem to reflect the standard prescriptive value against its usage. This would be particularly true when exposure to English has begun in the classroom, and where the value orientation of the native culture places great importance on success in situations like school and respect for norms and customs. Both factors characterize the group in question.

While there is a clear orientation toward Standard English forms, there remain certain structures which diverge in significant ways from the standard. One is the usage of unmarked tense, displayed in Table 7.1(d). The systematic variability which was investigated in depth in Chapter Six and is summarized in the table here shows a degree of persistence that opens up the possibility that some vestige may remain as part of an identifiable ethnic variety. The figures are far from conclusive; however, several other factors are relevant. First, anecdotal evidence from unrecorded observations and discussions with teachers of Vietnamese students indicates that unmarked tense often occurs in the speech of those whose English is very fluent and otherwise standard in form. Second, as we have mentioned, unmarked tense has been found in varieties of English with historical second language bases but not a high degree of bilingualism among individuals in the contemporary community (Wolfram *et al* 1979). Finally, the intersection of phonological processes, shown by the higher incidence of unmarked tense with regular verbs, may promote maintenance of the feature. We will turn briefly here to a consideration of the phonological characteristics of the emerging variety.

As suggested earlier (in Chapter Five), phonological divergence is a prominent characteristic of VE. While it is impossible to predict which aspects might survive in future generations, we can review some of the significant areas of variation currently observed. One of the most widely noticed features of pronunciation among VE speakers involves consonants at the ends of words. As we have seen, final stops not only occur in basic lexical items (as in *fast*, *act*, *bad*), they represent the regular past tense suffix as well (/t/ in *looked*, *missed*; /d/ in *blamed*, *played*). We find high levels of two processes that cause final stops in both environments to be absent: consonant cluster reduction and final -*d* deletion. Table 7.2 lists the summary tabulations for these two processes. While we do find differences between the two groups of subjects according to length of residence, the difference is not as striking as we observed for certain grammatical features. Our "diagnostic" group, the 10 to 12 year old group with 4 to 7 years of U.S. residence, can be seen to have rates closer to standard in each category than the other groups of subjects, although they do remain much higher than levels in mainstream varieties. This suggests that the direction of development for the variety is toward the standard; however, we must bear in mind the pervasiveness of these phonological features.

The results in Table 7.2 are also relevant to the investigation of unmarked tense, a grammatical feature that showed relatively high levels of nonstandardness.

	Years in U.S.:			
Age Group	1 - 3		4 - 7	
	Not -ed	-ed	Not -ed	-ed
10 - 12	80%	91%	53%	30%
15 - 18	89%	99%	79%	65%
20 - 25	90%	98%	83%	95%
35 - 55	87%	96%	88%	66%

(a) Consonant Cluster Reduction in Environment of a Following Non-Consonant

	Not -ed	-ed	Not -ed	-ed
10 - 12	22%	89%	19%	6%
15 - 18	14%	43%	42%	64%
20 - 25	41%	89%	30%	100%
35 - 55	30%	100%	33%	75%

(b) Absence of Final -d Singleton in All Environments

Table 7.2 Summary of the Incidence of Deletion for Two Phonological Features

As the discussion in Chapter Six pointed out, there is apparently a convergence of phonological and grammatical processes that leads to higher rates of unmarked tense with regular verbs, where the past tense suffix is phonologically a final stop. The relationship between unmarked tense and the deletion process may be somewhat mutually reinforcing. Naturally, we can only speculate at this point.

Returning to the facts in Table 7.2, we find a surprising result when we compare the rates of absence for final stops that represent the past tense suffix (-ed) with those that do not (Not -ed). For most non-mainstream varieties of English, the incidence of final stop absence is much lower when the stop is a grammatical suffix; for many of the groups in our chart, the reverse is true. In addition, when the stop is followed by a non-consonant (i.e., a vowel or a pause), the levels tend to be lower than those shown here. We can note that there appears to be a basic principle of language underlying most patterns of consonant cluster reduction, that a segment is less likely to be omitted if it carries grammatical information. The only cases not in line with this principle seem to occur in second language acquisition situations such as among VE speakers and they typically are confined to the early stages of acquisition. Recasting the information from Table 7.2(a) in Figure 7.1, we can see a graphic display of the difference between our two groups of subjects based on length of residence. The younger subjects in the 4 to 7 year group show both lower levels of consonant cluster reduction in this environment and a conformance to the basic principle mentioned above, in the direction of difference between the -ed and Not -ed categories.

By expanding our framework to include information from other varieties, we can make a more direct comparison. Table 7.3 lists the rates for the subjects in the 4 to 7 group for consonant cluster reduction in the context of other varieties of English for which data are available. Most of the varieties

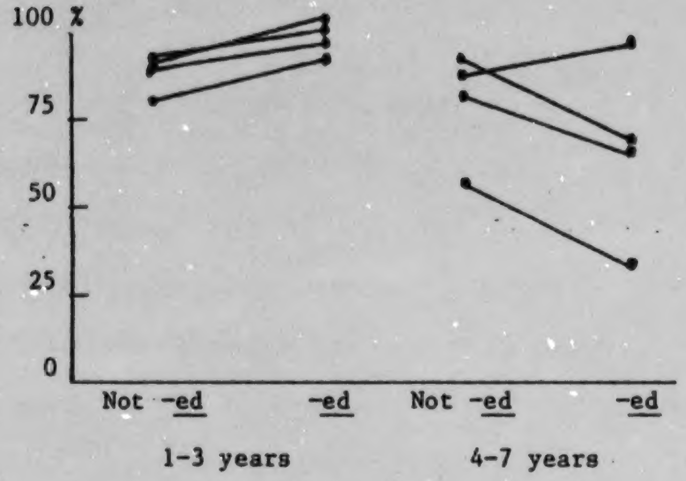


Figure 7.1 Incidence of Consonant Cluster Reduction in VE by Length of Residence Category

Variety	Not -ed	-ed
Middle Class White (Detroit)	12%	3%
Working Class White (NYC)	19%	3%
Appalachian (WVA)	17%	5%
Italian-American (Boston)	15%	16%
Pueblo Indian B (New Mexico)	38%	12%
Pueblo Indian A (New Mexico)	60%	31%
Puerto Rican (NYC)	63%	24%
Vernacular Black (Detroit)	72%	34%
Vietnamese--4-7 years in U.S.:		
Age Group: 10-12 years	53%	30%
15-18 years	79%	65%
20-25 years	83%	95%
35-55 years	88%	66%

Table 7.3 Incidence of Consonant Cluster Reduction with a Following Non-Consonant Environment for Selected Varieties of English

represent non-mainstream dialects but a normative standard variety (middle class speakers from Detroit) is included as well for comparison. These results clearly show the differences between VE and other varieties of English on this feature. The 4 to 7 year group shows basically the same pattern in terms of the role of the grammatical suffix, with one age category exception, but the overall levels of reduction tend to be much higher. We have suggested that the effect of the Vietnamese language accounts for many of the phonological characteristics of VE and this would appear to hold true for final consonants. It is not possible, however, to predict how long this influence, directly or indirectly, will affect the processes involved. Amonth the variables discussed, however, cluster reduction and unmarked tense are the most likely candidates for substratal integration into an ongoing variety of VE.

At various points in this discussion, we have suggested that VE is oriented toward standard models, citing the comparative figures for the younger groups who have been in this country over four years as supportive evidence. Despite the fact that the overall levels are much higher than many other non-mainstream varieties, this tendency holds even for the phonological features presented in Table 7.3. We can make a similar comparison for some of the grammatical structures to place VE again within the context of other varieties of English. In Table 7.4, the youngest group of subjects in the 4 to 7 year group is assumed to be reflective of the likely direction VE is taking, as we examine their behavior as compared with that of other groups that have been studied. Although data are not available for each feature in every variety, we can see from the table that the VE speakers tend to fall on the standard end of the continuum.

The results of our investigation suggest that the variety of Vietnamese English that is emerging is moving toward a standard model, with the possibility that a few phonological and grammatical characteristics may remain as vestiges

	Plurals	Agreement		Negation	
Varieties of English	Plural Absence	3rd sg. -s abs.	don't	Mult. Neg.	ain't
Non-mainstream varieties:					
Puerto Rican English, NYC (Wolfram 1974a)	-	16%	58%	87%	51%
Italian-American English, Boston (Biondi 1975)	-	21%	37%	-	-
Pueblo Indian English, New Mexico (Wolfram *et al* 1979): Pueblo A	4%	10%	60%	75%	8%
Pueblo B	1%	1%	50%	67%	52%
Vernacular Black English NYC (Labov *et al* 1968)	-	-	-	81%	-
Detroit (Wolfram 1969)	6%	71%	-	56%	-
Washington, D.C. (Fasold 1972)	22%	65%	88%	-	-
Appalachian English, West Virginia (Wolfram and Christian 1976)	-	0%	77%	62%	82%
Northern White Nonstandard English, Detroit (Wolfram 1969)	-	-	-	56%	-
Mainstream varieties:					
Upper Middle Class Black English, Washington, D.C. (Fasold 1972)	2%	-	-	-	-
Upper Middle Class White English, Detroit (Wolfram 1969)	0%	0%	-	1%	-
Vietnamese English	10%	32%	7%	3%	0%

Table 7.4 Incidence of Nonstandardness in Plurals, Agreement and Negation for Varieties of English

of the language learning/native language transfer situation to substratal effects. It is clear that very little, if any, diffusion from neighboring non-mainstream varieties is taking place. This choice of model and direction for the developing variety corresponds well with the community's social value orientation. While we cannot predict what form an ethnically identifiable variety of VE would take, we have suggested which areas are more and less likely to stabilize as ethnic markers. Resolution of some of the basic questions we have raised will only be possible by examining new generations of VE speakers. These speakers will demonstrate to us what forms the emerging variety will carry forth as markers of a new ethnic variety of English.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Language, Education, and the Vietnamese Community

The Sociolinguistic Context

An understanding of the role of language in education is necessarily based upon an understanding of language in a broader sociolinguistic context. In a sense, education must be viewed as one avenue through which the sociolinguistic situation is manifested. The nature of the English variety and its role in the broader sociolinguistic context must thus serve as a starting point for discussing ways in which language differences impact on the educational process.

The nature and role of English found in this community are similar in many respects to those found in other non-mainstream or non-native English contexts, but there are also some important differences that set it apart from other sociolinguistic situations. It is thus instructive to point out several of these points of similarity and difference since they become relevant to the role of language in education.

Like many other varieties of English where, for most speakers, English is not a native language, there is considerable divergence from the mainstream standard English variety. This, of course, is reflected in the structural detail that we have discussed in the previous chapters. Impressionistically, we would conclude that the amount of divergence from standard English norms found in this variety is, at this point, probably greater than that found in most other bilingual situations in the United States. This high level of divergence is probably due to both social and linguistic reasons. Socially, the abrupt influx of refugees who did not anticipate living in the United States led to a community largely unprepared for the transition into an English-dominant society. Linguistically, the structural difference between the source and target languages gives rise to linguistic hurdles not matched for groups whose language backgrounds involve languages that are structurally more similar. The social and linguistic circumstances, then, lead to a situation in which we would expect divergence in the English variety to be maximized.

While the level of linguistic divergence from the standard English mainstream norm certainly matches or exceeds that found for most other bilingual or non-mainstream communities for many recently arriving speakers, there is an important difference in the direction of the differences. The divergence is typical of that found for second language learners of English, but it does not contain the most socially marked stigmatized features associated with nonstandard English. For example, we pointed out (Chapter Seven) how speakers in this community avoid the use of the lexical item ain't and have a low incidence of multiple negation compared with most non-mainstream varieties. This characteristic is in sharp relief to other communities where the ancestral language is not English (Wolfram 1974a). Thus, we have a picture in which divergence is substantive but stigmatized shibboleths are limited. Several reasons may be cited to account for this situation. One reason is the exposure to formal instruction in English which is typical of most community members. Given the nature of the in-migration, the demands for training in English were heightened and most speakers in our corpus have, at one time or another, been exposed to some formal instruction in ESL. Naturally, classroom instruction would encourage a standard variety of English as a model. But exposure to training in standard English does not appear to be an adequate basis in itself for avoiding the stigmatized shibboleths of the language. Other groups have had a similar kind of exposure, but have still managed to acquire some of these stigmatized features (Wolfram et al 1979).

At this point, we must turn to community values, in particular the importance ascribed to conventional educational achievement, as supportive of standard English development. In our earlier discussion of the community (Chapter Three), we highlighted the emphasis upon educational and economic success. In this context, language forms may take on symbolic significance, and those forms associated with non-mainstream groups would be avoided. Although normative, native-like proficiency may be very difficult to acquire, it is not particularly difficult to avoid a select set of stigmatized features, and this is what seems to have been done by most members of the community we have studied.

It must also be noted that the community has not been influenced to a large extent by surrounding non-mainstream speaking groups. Such contact might readily lead to the development of a nonstandard version of English (Wolfram 1974a; Wolfram et al 1979), but there is obviously little influence from these varieties. This observation, of course, is in line with the general economic and educational values that characterize the community. Contact outside the community seems largely focused upon mainstream groups, who would naturally reinforce the standard variety of English. Given the various forces in operation, then, the observed nature of divergence in English is certainly understandable. As we shall see, consideration of this type become important when examining the underlying assumptions that might guide the development of educational strategies.

As with other bilingual and native-English non-mainstream communities within the United States, the educational achievement level related to English can be expected to be low. Certainly, the collection of writing samples gathered as a part of this study reinforces the notion that "language problems" will arise in language-centered educational tasks. This is hardly surprising, given the language background of the community. What is noteworthy, however, is the fact that language problems do not correlate with low achievement levels in other academic areas. This is quite unlike many other bilingual communities, where low achievement in English language tasks is matched by low achievement levels in virtually all academic content areas. For other communities, the "language problem" is but one manifestation of general academic alienation. For such situations, including both non-mainstream native speaking varieties of English and bilingual language situations, it has often been questioned whether language differences are a central cause of general academic failure (e.g. Laffey and Shuy 1973; Whiteman 1980). For the Vietnamese community, this question is not appropriate. The fact of the matter is that all indications point to high educational achievement by members of this community despite important language divergence. This observation should not, however, be taken to mean that language differences cannot lead to general educational problems for some students, or even that it is not a significant hurdle for Vietnamese youth. As we noted earlier, many Vietnamese youth choose to specialize in scientific disciplines to minimize the effect of their English language problems on their studies. The observation does indicate, however, that language differences cannot be isolated as a singular raison d'etre for low academic achievement. Whatever linguistic hurdles may exist, they have not prohibited more general academic success.

Finally, we should mention something about how the English language is viewed within the community, since community attitudes about language may affect the educational process in a significant way. Proficiency in the English language is viewed as an important tool to ensure economic and social success in American society. Furthermore, limitations in English are seen as a hindrance to achieving these goals. This view has been expressed by practically all the subjects in this study, as they have stressed the need to adjust to a new cultural context. Many of the subjects cite language as the biggest obstacle to overcome for refugees, maintaining that occupational and social restrictions may be severe if it is not overcome. Proficiency in English thus seems universally valued in the community, although many subjects, at the same time, express the concern that English should not replace indigenous Vietnamese culture, including the Vietnamese language. English language proficiency is viewed quite pragmatically, and it is seen as consonant with values endemic to the community. Furthermore, maintenance of English proficiency is not viewed as reflective of the inherent conflict between cultures. As several subjects mentioned, they want to have "the best of both cultures". In some respects, the underlying values in the community seem to provide an ideal basis for developing educational strategy. Nonetheless, major hurdles in language-related tasks remain, and we must now turn our attention to several of these issues.

Spoken English

For many bilingual communities, the issue of teaching spoken English is controversial because of its deeper sociolinguistic significance. Given the sociolinguistic considerations we have just discussed, the issue of teaching English does not appear to be nearly as controversial in the Vietnamese community. In fact, the sociolinguistic situation appears to be ideal in some ways for teaching English. Many community members are highly motivated to learn English, and there is value associated with attaining proficiency. Yet, for reasons discussed earlier, the proficiency level of English for many community members is still quite limited. In light of this observation, we can return to the question of how a successful program for teaching spoken English might be planned. In the following discussion, we shall present some considerations that should be taken into account in teaching English in this context. Our intent is not to suggest particular methods and materials, but to highlight those principles that derive from this particular sociolinguistic study.

As a starting point, it seems necessary to consider the wide range of proficiency levels that may be encountered in any ESL situation geared toward the Vietnamese community. Proficiency levels range from native-like control of English found amoung younger speakers who came to the United States in the early stages of language learning and were exposed to English in a range of contexts, to older speakers who are at a point where there is limited exposure to English and limited social and economic gain to be derived from learning English (e.g. elderly grandparents). The disparity in proficiency levels is particularly glaring in some situations and does not always correlate directly with convenient, objective indicators such as length of residency in the United States. Factors such as age at the time of entry into the country, current educational and economic status, socio-economic aspirations, group reference values and social interaction outside of the community are among those factors that must be taken into account when considering proficiency levels. The need for accurate preliminary diagnosis in assessing proficiency levels and ESL instruction that is set up in accordance with such assessment thus seem to be important matters to be kept in mind when establishing an effective ESL program.

On the other side of the issue are some younger community members who may lose their facility in Vietnamese fairly readily with extended exposure to English. We have encountered several situations in our study in which children who have been here 4-7 years have great difficulty in speaking with monolingual Vietnamese grandparents. This type of situation is just emerging as a problem within the community, so that programs to maintain and teach Vietnamese have been established in several instances to counter this situation. While it is too early to report on the success of such programs in actually maintaining

Vietnamese, it is important for ESL programs to be sensitive to this concern. There seems to be no reason why a program for acquiring proficiency in English cannot be matched with a program to maintain (and, in some cases, acquire) Vietnamese in an authentic bilingual context (Nguyen 1979). The failure to recognize the desire to maintain the Vietnamese language holds the potential for eventual "language backlash", as community members may come to view the English language program as detrimental to their maintenance of the indigenous culture, including language.

A second consideration that must be kept in mind is the need to stress intelligibility in English as an initial priority in teaching English. This principle is a relatively conventional one set forth in most ESL programs, but the way in which it works itself out in the Vietnamese community may be somewhat different from what has been assumed in the last decade of ESL programming. During the last decade, the emphasis in most ESL programs has clearly been geared towards the larger levels of language, including language use, communicative competence, and discourse. The assumption has been that these aspects of language are more essential in basic communication than details of phonology or the placement of redundant morphosyntactic detail. For many L2 language situations this certainly may be the case and we do not mean to disparage this orientation. However, we cannot simply assume that phonological detail should be assigned secondary or nonconsequential status for native Vietnamese speakers because of a negligible affect on intelligibility. In fact, the structural dissimilarity of Vietnamese and English phonologies seems to justify giving phonology substantive initial concern. In our speech samples, we have come across a number of instances in which the cumulative effect of phonological transfer renders the speech virtually unintelligible despite the apparent adequacy of the communicative act and syntactic construction.

Naturally, not all phonological transfer will have the same effect on intelligibility and priorities will have to be established in terms of sequencing. In this regard, we would suggest that features such as syllable-final consonant loss and syllable initial cluster reduction would have a greater effect on intelligibility than features such as stopping for the interdental fricatives and post-vocalic r-lessness. The functional load between contrasting units, the generality of the items affected by the process, and the potential for homophony are among the factors that have to be considered in prioritizing phonological features with respect to their effect on intelligibility. At this stage, we simply advocate the consideration of phonological transfer as an important variable affecting intelligibility, with an understanding that a hierarchy of effect will have to be established.

Another consideration is the establishment of realistic norms of spoken English for the community. These norms will take into account both the appropriate models of the surrounding, relevant English-speaking community and the emerging variety of VE that might be established as an ongoing entity. We have, for example, seen that the relevant surrounding variety of English is a standard one rather than a non-standard one, so that the traditional focus on learning standard English is appropriate in this context. At the same time, there are several candidates for continuing substratal influence on an emerging variety of VE. In Chapter Seven we mentioned the syllable-final cluster reduction and vestigial cases of unmarked tense as possible features to be maintained in the next generations. If so, they may be more resistant to instruction in the ESL classroom. These kinds of factors have to be taken into account in terms of establishing realistic norms for English in an ESL context. We are not suggesting that teachers distort their own speech to model appropriate norms, but they should be sensitive to the relevant norms for the community in terms of the production of students.

Finally, we stress the importance of teaching patterns of English usage as opposed to isolated items. This principle is a fairly conventional one that presumably has guided the teaching of ESL for several decades now. However, we reiterate it here because of some of the data revealed in our study. There are several indications that rote learning of forms is taking precedence over the learning of regular patterns. For example, subjects typically have acquired the irregular forms of the plural while they have only partially acquired the regular forms of plural. Similarly, particular irregular verbs may be marked for tense while the regular forms lag behind in their acquisition. To a certain extent, we expect this phenomenon as normal sequencing in acquisition since rote learning of isolated items often precedes the learning of general rules. However, the goal of any ESL program must be geared toward acquiring the regular rules of English, and pedogogical attention to these should be commensurate with achieving the level of habituation required for their application. The acquisition of particular lexical items should not be interpreted to mean that a general rule has been acquired. Indeed, overgeneralization of regular to irregular forms would be more indicative that the general rule is being acquired than learning an isolated irregular form. At any rate, the importance of the acquisition of general rules must remain a priority.

We may summarize our observations by saying that the sociolinguistic situation we have investigated here has important implications for the teaching of spoken English. Some of these principles reinforce well-worn doctrines of ESL while others suggest that some of these doctrines need to be interpreted in a slightly different light given the sociolingusitic context of the Vietnamese community. In either case, however, our discussion should demonstrate the importance of sociolinguistic data as a preliminary to pedagogical considerations in ESL.

Written English

As a part of this study, we collected a fairly extensive sample of writing by subjects in the Vietnamese community. In all, we have writing samples from 39 different subjects. All of these samples are from school children ranging from fourth through 10th grade, and for many of them there are several essays in the sample. The comments that we make in this section are taken from an analysis of these writing samples.

There is naturally a great deal that we might say about writing and language, but our focus here is upon the special writing problems that derive from language divergence in a bilingual context. As Huynh puts it:

> As a matter of fact, the nature and the process of writing remains the same for writers of English of any language background. However, important differences exist in the learning situation because of the difference in the cultural and linguistic background of the learners. Most American children learn to write at school between the ages of five and seven. By this time, they have acquired a fairly well-developed command of the spoken language... By contrast, learners who are not native speakers of English may not have reached this level of proficiency in oral language skills when they start learning to write in English. (Huynh 1982:78-79)

Obviously, we would expect to find limited English proficiency to be reflected in written as well as spoken language, but the extent to which it is revealed in relation to other problems and the particular manifestation of such transfer is of particular significance.

Perhaps the most effective way of highlighting the dimensions of language divergence in writing is through the discussion of several representative samples from our corpus. For this purpose, we first examine a story written by one of our 11-year old subjects who is currently in fifth grade. He has resided in the United States for two years, where he has attended a public, monolingual English school which has incorporated ESL classes into its curriculum to accommodate recently arriving refugees. In the writing sample, we have underlined all those instances which conventionally would be marked as writing errors. However, we have differentiated the errors on the basis of those we interpret to be related to the spoken language divergence of the student (marked a) and those that do not appear to be related to the student's spoken variety of English (marked b). Since there are several instances in which both sources of error might be present, we have marked these cases with both a and b.

Lost in a Storm

As I was playing on my grandfather's
1a 2b
farm a blizzard suddenly appeared. and
I was so scared and I called my grand-
3a,b 4b 5b 6b 7a
father's and He said __ what is it __ I say to him
8a
there is an blizzard outside and my
9a,b
grandfather's got a big stick and hit
10b 11a 12b
him. and the lizzard ran away and
one night when I went to sleep a wolf
came to my barn and stole some of my
13a 14b 15a
cow and one morning I walkup and
16a 17a
one of my cow were missing and I called
18b 19b 20b 21b
my grandfather's and He said __ what is it__
22b 23a
and one night we make a hole and there
24a 25a 26b
is many fire under the hole __ and the
27a 28a 29b
sand were on the hole. and we went to
30b
sleep and The wolf came to our barn and
31a 32a 33b 34a
when he step on the hole He fall down
35a 36a 37b 38a 39b 40a
and burn him and he die __ We live
41a
happily after.

Our analysis of the composition shows substantive numbers of both types of errors. Of the 41 underlined errors, 23 cases are related to spoken language divergence and 21 errors fall into the other category. (Recall that we have marked several items as representing both kinds of problems.) Although another analyst might come up with a slightly different ratio based on several cases which are open to speculation, we are fairly confident of the overall reliability of our classification here. The errors not related to spoken language divergence reflect classic mechanical problems related to writing, such as punctuation (e.g. 5, 6, 39, etc.) and capitalization (4, 10, 30, etc.) among others. There are also some discourse paragraphing problems (12,22) which seem to be fairly common for all writers at this stage in learning the written medium. It is hardly peculiar to speakers for whom English is a second language.

A number of the problems stemming from spoken language divergence, however, appear related to the structural feature discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, although not always in a direct way. Among the prominent structures reflecting spoken language divergence are tense unmarking on regular (31,35,38,40) and irregular (7,23,24,34) verbs, plural suffix absence (13,16), and nonstandard verb agreement (17,24,27). In the case of verb agreement, it should be noted that there are several instances of apparent "hypercorrection" (17,27), in which plural status is ascribed to a construction when it is not called for in English. There is also a kind of hypercorrection with the possessive 's in writing, which may be reflective of the fact that this possessive suffix is often absent in spoken language. In this case, the proper placement of possessive 's on grandfather's (line 1) is followed by the placement of 's on all other non-possessive uses of grandfather (3,9, and 18) in the story. This kind of hypercorrection is not particularly surprising given the formal constraints on the writing task combined with many speakers uncertainty about various English morphsyntactic forms.

While the writer's intent seems to be fairly clear in many instances, there are several cases where it is difficult to predict the intended form because of competing sources of divergence. For example, in a construction such as there is many fire (lines 14-15), it is difficult to determine whether it is divergent from there is much fire or there are many fires, since verb agreement differences, and plural marker differences are all potential candidates as the basis for divergence. Such cases are the exception rather than the rule in this essay, but we must realistically acknowledge the fact that several different sources of divergence may be operative on a given construction at the same time, so that a single-source explanation is not always possible.

Although, a number of the major grammatical structures discussed in Chapter Four are reflected in the divergence of this essay, we have identified only two instances (apart from phonological convergence with grammatical structures) reflecting phonological divergence, and both of these are somewhat speculative. One is the case of blizzard/lizard (1,8, and 11). In this instance, the overall theme of the story (Lost in a Storm) and the initial sentences of the story lead the reader to believe that the writer intended the item blizzard. However, the subsequent development of the story seems to indicate that the animal lizard is the focus of the essay. Given the status of word-initial clusters in the spoken variety, including the fact that intrusive stops are occasionally inserted before liquids (see Chapter Five), we can see how these two items might merge phonologically. This phonological similarity then might lead to lexical confusion or "pseudo-homophony".

The other instance of phonological divergence is the case of walkup. The context of the story seems to indicate that the writer intended the item woke *up*, but in this instance, a minimal word pair [wɔk] 'walk' and [wok] 'woke' could be rendered as identical because of phonological transfer from the first language vowel system. Grammatical divergence in this essay seems to be predominant vis-a-vis phonological divergence, but the few instances we attribute to phonology may lead to considerable confusion in understanding the writer's story.

Our second illustrative writing example is taken from a 15 year old subject in the 9th grade who has resided in the United States for one year. The passage was written as a book report in connection with a school assignment. Although it is somewhat lengthy, it is worth including in its entirety here as a representative example. As we did with our previous sample, we have underlined each "error" and classified it on the basis of whether we interpret it to be potentially related to spoken language (*a*) or not (*b*).

Gone with the Wind

by Margaret Mitchell

"Gone with the wind" is an exciting
1a
love story, *has written* by Margaret Mitchell.
2a
This story *has begun* on a bright April afternoon
3a
of 1861, in Atlanta, Georgia.
4a
The main *charater* in this story was
Scarlett O'Hara. She was one of the Coast
5a
Aristocr*at* of French descent. Her father was
Gerald O'Hara, the owner of Tara.
6a
Tara is a plantation *which has a length of*
7a
more than 200 miles. And the important *charaters*
in this story are Melly Hamilton, Charles

Hamilton, Rhett, Ellen O'Hara, Ashley Wilkes and [8a] much much more.

Scarrlett O'Hara was a beautiful, [9a] charmy girl. But she was also an unfortunate girl. This story [10a] has written about her during the civil war between Southerners and the Yankees. Scarlett [11a] was fallen in love with Ashley Wilkes, but he was going to [12a] married his cousin [13a] which is Melly Hamilton. Scarlett became miserable from that time. After a few years, [14a] she's married Charles Hamilton, and [15a] hope this [16a] will make her forget about Ashley Wilkes. After two months of living with Charles, she had a baby, and [17a] Charles's dead in the war, by the [18a] pneumonia. But anyway [19b] __ [20a] she's still always loved Ashley in [21b] secrete and [22b] noone could understand.

During this war time, all ladies [23a] lived very lonely. Melly ([24b] Charles's sister) always [25a] stay with Scarlett and [26a] comfort her. Melly was a very nice little girl. She had a shape[26b]d-face with black eyes, pointed of chin and square of jaw. She loved Scarlett so much. [27a] But cause of love, Scarlett always [28a] wish that Melly [29a] would dead so she could have Ashley, and Melly [30a] has never known that.

Year after year, [31a] cause of money, [32a] miserable, love, Scarlett [33a] had been remarried. The man

34a
was Rhett, who she was not only didn't
35a 36a
want to married but also had an active contempt.
37b
Though she married Rhett, but always still rembered
38a
Ashley. She love him very much. But he would never answer her.
39a
When the war was over, and Ashley's
40b 41a
coming back.___ Melly has been miscarriage and
42a
dead. And now everyone was miserable.
43a 44a
Before Scarlett wish that Melly would die so she
45a
can have Ashley, now Ashley was coming back

and Melly was dead, but she didn't want him

anymore.

46a 47b
Everything was reveal, and Rhett knew everything,___
48a
now is the time he understand about his wife. At last he decided
49b
to go back to his own place of birth, and forget everything.
50a
He try to find his own new life, and people whom
51a 52b
he's never known before. He would enjoy hunting,___
53a 54a
and fishing in the rest of his life. This happened make
55a
Scarlett felt crazy.

At last Scarlett felt so guilty.
56a 57a
She thought the only man he love was Rhett. But
58a 59a
now is too late for her to say that when she ____
60a
already lost Rhett, the man who love her so much
61a 62a 63a
and she has never answer him by the nice words. She
64a
has always run along with the man who never
65a
love her.

After reading the story, I thought it

was so sad, but I liked it. It helped me

66b 67a
learn a lot of new words, which I haven't know
68a
before. It helped me to practice in reading.

This was the most interesting story I've ever read.

70 It took me a long time to sit there and
69a 70b
read. Sometimes I laught and sometimes cried.

In this instance, only 12 of the 70 underlined errors are attributable to reasons other than spoken language divergence. Again, some of the characteristic structures are represented, such as unmarked tense for regular (e.g. 25, 28, 38, 44) and irregular (e.g. 48, 16) verbs, with a predominance of unmarking on regular forms. This, of course, is reflective of patterns we observed for tense unmarking in spoken language (cf. Chapter Six). But we also see a number of problems resulting from attempts to use auxiliaries, including the perfect (e.g. 2, 67) and passive (11, 12). There are a number of instances in which the imperfect learning of auxiliaries apparently results in perfect forms used for passives (10) and vice versa (11); there are also hypercorrect perfect uses where a simple past would be adequate in English discourse (e.g. 2) The sometimes erratic insertion of auxiliary forms and the auxiliary hypercorrection seems to be perfectly understandable in terms of limited English proficiency and the formal constraints of the writing situation. Some of the problems found in clause subordination (cf. Chapter Four) are also indicated (34, 35) as well as adverbial extension (e.g. before in 43) and a number of instances of prepositional extension (3, 18, 53). (We did not detail these in Chapter Four because of their lexical rather than grammatical peculiarities, but these are characteristically highlighted in second language studies of English.) In some respects, the general patterns are quite like those found in our other sample writing passage, but some of the specific manifestations are, of course, different.

Again, the incidence of straightforward, phonological divergence reflected seems to be restricted by comparison with grammatical manifestations we have uncovered. The only instances that may be reflective of phonological transfer in writing (other than those where phonology converges with grammar) are items such as *charater* for character (4,7), where the absence of medial *c* might be reflective of cluster reduction word-internally [kt], and *cause* (27,31), which may be reflective of unstressed syllable deletion (also common in casual spoken standard English). A possible instance of phonological transfer is the form *charmy* for *charming* (9), but we cannot be certain here that this is a reflection of phonological final consonant absence of a derivational suffix difference. The upshot of our brief investigation of this written sample is that linguistic divergence is the primary problem. In some respects, the written book review is quite remarkable, considering the fact that the speaker has only resided in the United States for a year and has apparently only started learning and writing English since her arrival.

We must be cautious in drawing conclusions on the basis of two samples presented here, but these examples seem to be quite representative of the other writing samples we have collected. And naturally, we must be cautious of the bias created because of the non-random way in which our writing samples were collected. Nonetheless, some trends appear to be emerging. For one, we are surprised that there is not more phonological transfer indicated, given the significance of phonological divergence in the variety as a whole. We are also surprised at the relatively low incidence of the problems not related to language divergence, particularly given the fact that written English is such an incipient process for so many of the writers. Our observation here is of pedagogical importance, but it is also of sociolinguistic significance. We may hypothesize that the emphasis on academic achievement would be particularly amenable to those aspects of writing most readily acquired through rote learning. For English, the arbitrary writing mechanics and spelling (particularly the way it is often taught as a rote rather than a phonologically patterned task) would fit this category of learning. More deeply habituated patterns, such as morphosyntactic marking and tense sequencing within larger discourse units, would be much more difficult to master in the writing system. And these are the areas most likely to be perpetuated in the writing problems of the samples considered here.

Although our examination of language divergence and writing have not been exhaustive here, it is obvious that the study of linguistic divergence in spoken language serves as an important foundation for the examination of written language. Descriptive linguistic detail such as that contained in Chapters Four through Six is essential to understanding how spoken language may and may not affect written language. It provides a basis for determining the dynamic process in which spoken language affects writing both directly and indirectly. Naturally, we are still limited in some of our descriptive detail and there are other ways in which the spoken language may affect writing. We are particularly aware of the potential for spoken influence on the larger levels of language organization, such as different discourse styles (Schafer 1980). There is obvious need to broaden our descriptive detail at this point in order to understand these larger units of language organization along with the morphosyntactic and phonological detail.

Our investigation of written and spoken language divergence also points out the need to base our conclusions on empirical rather than predictive detail. Some of the influences of spoken language on written language that we might have predicted did occur in our writing samples, but others did not. Furthermore, there are other aspects of indirect transfer such as hypercorrection which could not necessarily be predicted. The need for an empirical basis for examining ESL writing problems is thus reinforced in this study, as spoken language and written language data go hand-in-hand.

Finally, we have shown that broader sociolinguistic data must also be considered as essential to the understanding of written language phenomena. We have hypothesized that some dimensions of the nature of the writing divergence are best understood by considering deeper social values and attitudes as they may work themselves out in a language learning situation. Such information is not only important for understanding why particular configurations of writing problems occur; it is also important for determining the development of pedagogical strategies for writing instruction. If nothing else, this study has shown that descriptive analysis of language divergence and sociolinguistic studies of language use and attitudes cannot be considered ancillary adjuncts of pedagogical concerns. Indeed, pedagogical issues are irrevocably interwoven with linguistic and sociolinguistic concerns. To separate them is a disservice to the community involved and the educational process as it affects the community.

REFERENCES

Anderson, K. "The New Ellis Island." Time, June 13, 1983.

Bailey, C.-J. N. 1973. Variation and Linguistic Theory. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Bailey, N., C. Madden and S. Krashen. 1974. "Is There a 'Natural Sequence' In Adult Second Language Learning?" Language Learning 21:235-243.

Baugh, J. 1979. Linguistic Style Shifting in Black English. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Berko, J. 1958. "The Child's Learning of English Morphology." Word 14: 150-177.

Bickerton, D. 1971. "Inherent Variability and Variable Rules." Foundations of Language 7:457-492.

Biondi, L. 1975. The Italian-American Child: His Sociolinguistic Acculturation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Blake, P. "Safe Ashore At Last." Time, January 19, 1981.

Bohlen, C. "Tensions, Adjustment for Asian Refugees." The Washington Post, October 22, 1981.

Branigan, W. "Pirates Plague 'Boat People' Near Thailand." The Washington Post, January 27, 1983.

Brown, R. 1973. A First Language. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Burt, M. and C. Kiparsky. 1972. The Gooficon: A Repair Manual for English. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Cedergren, H. and D. Sankoff. 1974. "Variable Rules: Performance as a Statistical Reflection of Competence." Language 50:333-355.

Center for Applied Linguistics. Ms. "A Brief Outline of Vietnamese History." Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Chaze, W. "Will U.S. Shut the Door on Immigrants?" U.S. News and World Report, April 12, 1982.

Christian, D. 1978. Aspects of Verb Usage in Appalachian Speech. Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University.

Corder, S. P. 1967. "The Significance of Learner's Errors." International Review of Applied Linguistics 4:161-169.

Crystal, D. 1972. "Dialect Mixture and Sorting Out the Concept of Freshman English Remediation." The Florida FL Reporter 10:43-46.

Dam Trung Phap. 1980. "The Indochinese Refugees' Cultural Background." San Antonio: Intercultural Development Research Association.

Dillard, J. L. 1972. Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States. New York: Random House.

Dulay, H. and M. K. Burt. 1972. "Goofing: An Indication of Children's Second Language Learning Strategies." Language Learning 22:235-252.

__________. 1974. "Natural Sequences in Child Second Language Acquisition." Language Learning 24:37-53.

Education Daily. "From Top Student to Dropout, Two Tales of American Schooling." September 23, 1983.

Fasold, R. W. 1972. Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fishman, J., R. L. Cooper and R. Ma. 1971. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington: Indiana University Publications.

Glaser, B. 1982. "Arlington County, Virginia: Refugee Impact, 1982." Paper presented at the Public Meeting on Refugee Admissions, Georgetown University, Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance, September 1982.

Godfrey, D. L. 1980. "A Discourse Analysis of Tense in Adult ESL Monologues." In: Larsen-Freeman, D. (ed.), Discourse Analysis in Second Language Research. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Guy, G. 1977. "A New Look at -t, -d Deletion." In: Fasold, R. W. and R. W. Shuy (eds.), Studies in Language Variation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Hackenberg, R. 1972. A Sociolinguistic Description of Appalachian English. Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University.

Haines, D., D. Rutherford and P. Thomas. 1981. "Family and Community among Vietnamese Refugees." In: Stein, B. and S. M. Tomasi (eds.), Refugees Today. International Migration Review Volume 15.

Hakuta, K. 1976. "A Case Study of a Japanese Child Learning English as a Second Language." Language Learning 26:321-351.

History and Culture of Vietnam: An Introduction. n.d. New York: World Relief Refugee Services.

Hoang, Vu Thuy and D. Bui. 1982. "An American Tet: Still a Time for Tradition in Vietnamese Community." The Washington Post Virginia Weekly, January 21, 1982.

Hoard, J. E. and C. Sloat. 1973. "English Irregular Verbs." Language 49:107-120.

Huynh Dinh Te. 1982. "Writing for Speakers of Other Languages." In: Cronnell, B. and J. Michael (eds.), Writing: Policies, Problems, and Possibilities. Los Alamitos: SWRL.

Kim, K., K. Lee and T.-Y. Kim. 1981. Korean-Americans in Los Angeles: Their Concerns and Language Maintenance. Los Alamitos: SWRL National Center for Bilingual Research.

Krashen, S. 1981. Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Labov, W. 1966. The Social Stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

__________. 1969. "Contraction, Deletion and Inherent Variability of the English Copula." Language 45:715-762.

__________. 1970. "The Logic of Nonstandard English." In: Alatis, J. E. (ed.), Georgetown Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

__________. 1972. Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. et al. 1968. A Study of the Non-Standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City. USOE Final Report, Research Project #3288.

Laffey, J. L. and R. W. Shuy (eds.). 1973. Language Differences: Do They Interfere? Newark: International Reading Association.

Lantor, L. 1983. "Teen Refugees: A Home at Last." The Montgomery Journal, October 18, 1983.

Larsen-Freeman, D. 1975. The Acquisition of Grammatical Morphemes by Adult Learners of English as a Second Language. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.

__________. 1976. "An Explanation for the Morpheme Acquisition Order of Second Language Learners." Language Learning 26:125-134.

__________. 1978. "Evidence of the Need for a Second Language Acquisition Index of Development." In: Ritchie, W. (ed.), Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications. New York: Academic Press.

Leap, W. L. (ed.). 1977. Studies in Southwestern Indian English. San Antonio: Trinity University.

Lindsey, R. 1983. "For New Asian Arrivals, California Is Someplace Like Home." New York Times, May 26, 1983.

Macken, M. A. and C. A. Ferguson. 1981. "Phonological Universals in Language Acquisition." In: Winitz, H. (ed.), Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Marckwardt, A. H. 1958. American English. New York: Oxford University Press.

Melton, R. H. 1982. "Reunited: Vietnamese Release Brings Refugee's Daughter to D.C." The Washington Post, October 6, 1982.

Metcalf, A. A. 1979. Chicano English. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Milroy, L. and S. Margrain. 1980. "Vernacular Language Loyalty and Social Network." Language and Society 9:43-70.

Mitchell-Kernan, C. 1970. Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community. Working Paper No. 23. Berkeley: Language Behavior Laboratory, University of California.

Montero, D. 1979. Vietnamese Americans: Patterns of Resettlement and Socioeconomic Adaptation in the United States. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Moore, M. and K. Dumas. 1983. "Inside the Fighting: Vietnamese Blame Violence on Frustrations." The Washington Post, August 14, 1983.

Mulligan, M. 1982. "New Citizen Sees 'Common Problem' From the Inside." The Arlington Journal, June 21, 1982.

National Indochinese Clearinghouse. n.d. Teaching English Structures to the Vietnamese. General Information Series #11. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Nguyen Dang Liem. 1979. "Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Indochinese." Paper presented at: Asian and Pacific American Education: Directions for the 1980's. San Francisco. April 1979.

Nhan, Chau Kim. 1979. "Foreword." In: Montero, D. Vietnamese Americans: Patterns of Resettlement and Socioeconomic Adaptation in the United States. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Peñalosa, F. 1980. Chicano Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Pho, Hong-Phong. 1982. "Problems and Potentials of the Indochinese Refugee Youth Population." Paper presented at the Public Meeting on Refugee Admissions. Georgetown University, Center for Immigration Policy and Refugee Assistance. September 1982.

Quirk, R. and S. Greenbaum. 1973. A Concise Grammar of Contemporary English. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

Richards, J. C. 1974. "Error Analysis and Second Language Strategies." In: Schumann, J. and N. Stenson (eds.), New Frontiers in Second Language Learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Sankoff, D. 1978. Linguistic Variation: Models and Methods. New York: Academic Press.

Sato, C. 1983. "Phonological Processes in Second Language Acquisition: Another Look at Interlanguage Syllable Structure." Paper presented at 17th Annual TESOL Convention. Toronto, Canada. March, 1983.

Scannell, N. 1981. "Arlington: 10 Schools' Minorities a Majority," The Washington Post, November 19, 1981.

__________. 1982. "After the Influx, A County Copes." The Washington Post, February 18, 1982.

Schafer, J. 1980. "Coupling as a Text-building, Myth-evoking Strategy in Vietnamese: Implications for Second Language Reading." In: Hudelson, S. (ed.), Learning to Read in Different Languages. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Segal, A. 1983. "The Half-Open Door." The Wilson Quarterly, January 1983.

Selinker, L. 1974. "Interlanguage." In: Schumann, J. and N. Stenson (eds.), New Frontiers in Second Language Learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Shawcross, W. 1983. "When Governments Burn Out While Refugees Suffer." The Washington Post, August 14, 1983.

Shuy, R. W. 1967. Discovering American Dialects. Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English.

Shuy, R. W., W. Wolfram and W. Riley. 1967. Linguistic Correlates of Social Stratification in Detroit Speech. Final Report to USOE, Cooperative Research Project No. 6-1347.

Summerlin, N. C. 1972. A Dialect Study: Affective Parameters in the Deletion and Substitution of Consonants in the Deep South. Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University.

Taylor, B. P. 1974. "Toward a Theory of Language Acquisition." Language Learning 24:23-35.

Thompson, L. C. 1965. A Vietnamese Grammar. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Weinreich, U. 1964. Languages in Contact. The Hague: Mouton and Company.

White, P. T. 1971. "Mosaic of Cultures." National Geographic 139:269-329.

Whiteman, M. F. 1976. Dialect Influence and the Writing of Black and White Working Class Americans. Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University.

__________ (ed.). 1980. Reactions to Ann Arbor: Vernacular Black English and Education. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Wittenberg. 1982. "A Teacher's View of Vietnamese Students." Co Noi. Arlington, VA: Wakefield High School.

Wode, H. 1978. "The Beginnings of Non-School Room L2 Phonological Acquisition." *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 16:109-125.

Wolfram, W. 1969. *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

__________. 1971. "Black-White Speech Relationships." In: Wolfram, W. and N. H. Clarke (eds.), *Black-White Speech Relationships*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

__________. 1974a. *Sociolinguistic Aspects of Assimilation: Puerto Rican English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

__________. 1974b. "The Relationship of White Southern Speech to Vernacular Black English." *Language* 50:498-527.

Wolfram, W. and D. Christian. 1975. *Sociolinguistic Variables in Appalachian Dialects*. Final Report, NIE Grant No. 74-0026.

__________. 1976. *Appalachian Speech*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Wolfram, W., D. Christian, W. Leap and L. Potter. 1979. *Variability in the English of Two Indian Communities and Its Effect on Reading and Writing*. Final Report, NIE Grant No. NIE-G-77-0006.

Wolfram, W. and R. W. Fasold. 1974. *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Wolfram, W. and M. F. Whiteman. 1971. "The Role of Dialect Interference in Composition." *The Florida FL Reporter* 9:34-38, 59.

Wolfson, N. 1978. "A Feature of Performed Narrative: The Conversational Historical Present." *Language in Society* 7:215-237.

__________. 1982. "On Tense Alternation and the Need for Analysis of Native Speaker Usage in Second Language Acquisition." *Language Learning* 32:53-68.

Young, G. 1982. "CETA: Slashed Job Training Dashes Refugees' Hopes as They Pursue American Dream." *The Washington Post* Virginia Weekly, October 6, 1982.

Adult Questionnaire

I. Current Life

1. Do you have any children? (ages, sex, etc.)

2. How do you spend a typical day now? What are some of the things you have to do?

3. Do you like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite TV programs? Can you tell me about one of the recent ones you saw? What happened? What TV shows do your children like to watch? Can you tell me about them?

4. Do you like music? What kind of music do you like? Why? Do you have a favorite singer or group? What are they like? Can you tell me about the music that your children listen to?

5. Do you have alot of relatives living around here? Do you get together for holidays like Tet? Can you remember one of these times that was particularly fun? What happened?

6. (if ESL student) Are there special things that happen in your English classes that you really like?

7. Are your best friends mostly American or mostly Vietnamese? Was it hard to get to know Americans? Why? How did you do it?

8. Are your neighbors Americans or Vietnamese (or other Asians, etc.)? Do you know them very well? Which ones? What kinds of things do you do together?

9. What kind of groups (religious, community, etc.) do you belong to? What kind of activities do they have?

10. What kinds of jobs would you like your children to be able to have? Education?

II. Life in Vietnam

1. When did you leave Vietnam? Can you tell me about your life there?

2. What kind of school did you go to in Vietnam? How was it different from schools in America? What did you boys wear? What did the girls wear? What subjects did you study? What were your teachers like?

3. Describe the city or town you lived in.

4. What kind of work did you do in Vietnam? What kind of work did your family members do?

5. Do you remember ever getting lost as a child? What happened? How about brothers or sisters who got lost? Did any of your children ever get lost? Have you gotten lost since you've been here? What happened? Has anyone else in your family gotten lost since they've been here?

6. Do you know any good Vietnamese stories or folktales? Can you tell me one? What stories do you tell your children?

7. Can you tell me about leaving Vietnam? Did you spend any time in a refugee camp? Where? Can you describe it?

III. Comparisons/speculations

1. Would you go back to Vietnam if you could? Why/why not?

2. Do you think that American teenagers are respectful towards their parents? Are you afraid that your children will act less respectful towards you if they have American friends? In what ways? Do your friends talk much about this? What do they say?

3. How do the different members of your family feel about living here?

4. What kinds of food do you eat at home? Did you find it hard to get used to American food?

5. What do you do in your home to try to maintain Vietnamese culture? What kinds of things do you teach your children about Vietnamese culture?

IV. Language Usage

1. What languages do you speak? How well?

2. What languages have you studied in school? How long? Where? (including refugee camps)

3. Who lives in your house? What language(s) do they speak? How well? What language do you speak with each one of them most of the time?

4. When do you prefer to speak English? Why? When do you prefer to speak Vietnamese? Why?

5. Do you think you speak English exactly like the Americans you know? If not, how is your English different from theirs?

6. Do you think your English sounds like your children's English? If not, how is your English different from theirs?

7. Does anyone you know worry that Vietnamese refugee children will stop speaking and using Vietnamese? What do they do about it? What do they say?

8. Do you read Vietnamese? Do you read books or magazines in Vietnamese? Do you write letters to people in Vietnam? Do you spend much time reading or writing Vietnamese?

9. Do you want your children to continue to speak Vietnamese? What do you do to encourage them to speak Vietnamese?

Adolescent Questionnaire

I. Life in Vietnam

1. How old were you when you left Vietnam? Do you remember much about your life there?

2. What kind of school did you go to in Vietnam? How was it different from schools in America? What did you wear? What subjects did you study? What were your teachers like?

3. Describe the city or town you lived in.

4. What work did your parents do?

5. Do you remember ever getting lost as a child? What happened? How about brothers or sisters who got lost. Have you ever gotten lost since you've been in the U.S.?

6. Do you know any good Vietnamese stories or folktales? Can you tell me one?

7. Tell me about your escape from Vietnam. Did you spend any time in a refugee camp? Where? What was it like?

II. Current Life

1. How do you spend a typical day now? What are some of the things you have to do?

2. Do you like to watch TV? What are some of your favorite TV programs? Can you tell me about one of the recent ones you saw? What happened?

3. Do you like music? What kind of music do you like? Why? Do you have a favorite singer or group? What are they like?

4. Do you have a lot of relatives living around here? Do you get together for holidays like Tet? Can you remember one of these get-togethers that was particularly fun? What happened?

5. Do you have special chores that you're supposed to do around home? What are they? What happens if you don't do them?

6. Are there special things that happen in school that you really like?

7. Are your best friends mostly American or mostly Vietnamese? Was it hard to get to know Americans at school? Why? How did you do it?

8. Are your neighbors mostly Americans or mostly Vietnamese?

9. Do you belong to any religious or community groups?

10. What kind of job/education would you like to get in the future?

III. Comparisons/Speculations

1. Would you go back to Vietnam if you could? Why/why not?

2. Some people say that Vietnamese teenagers are not as respectful to their parents here in the U.S. as they were in Vietnam. What do you think?

3. How do the different members of your family feel about living here?

4. What kinds of food do you eat at home? Did you find it hard to get used to American food?

5. Do you like the weather here better than the weather in Vietnam? Why?

6. What do your parents do in your home to try to maintain Vietnamese culture? Do you try to follow Vietnamese customs?

IV. Language Usage

1. What languages do you speak? How well?

2. What languages have you studied in school? How long? Where? (including refugee camps)

3. Who lives in your house? What language(s) do they speak? How well? What language do you speak with each one of them most of the time?

4. When do you prefer to speak English? Why? When do you prefer to speak Vietnamese? Why?

5. Do you think you speak English exactly like the Americans you know? If not, how is your English different from theirs?

6. Do you think your English sounds like your parents' English? If not, how is your English different from theirs?

7. Does anyone you know worry about Vietnamese refugee kids keeping up their Vietnamese? What do they do? What do they say?

8. Do you read Vietnamese? Do you read books or magazines in Vietnamese? Do you write letters to people in Vietnam? Do you spend much time reading or writing Vietnamese?

9. Do you want to continue to speak Vietnamese? Do your parents want you to? What do they do to encourage you?

Appendix B

Sample Interview:

Subject Number 84

16 year old male high school student
length of time in U.S.: 2 years

F = fieldworker
S = subject

F: How old were you when you left Vietnam?

S: I left Vietnam when I was fourteen years old.

F: What do you remember about where you lived and stuff. What was it like where you were living?

S: Before I lived in Saigon. The main capital of Vietnam. And, after 1975, the Vietnamese Communist they came to took South Vietnam. And then I came back to the farm of my grandmother, and I lived there for almost one year. And, they continued to,...you know, because my uncles and my fathers, they were the Vietnamese soldier. And then, they search for my father and my uncles. Cause my uncles was the soldier for American. And then we left that city, we came down to the city, that's its name, a small city named ________. And then they lived there for almost three years and I didn't came to school. I have to help my parents with that work on the farm and to grow the rice, something like that, and, we lived there for almost three years and had some problem, because they still search for my father. And we had to find a way to escape from the Vietnamese Communist, but we don't have the money. And, my father, he has to contact with my grandfather because my grandfather have the boat and he was the fishing. On the way he search for the way to escape from Vietnamese Communist and my uncle was caught by the Vietnamese Communist, for three months. And after they, you know, give my uncle freedom. And we find a way to leave the, Vietnam, to came to another country have the freedom, you know. We find freedom. And, on the way we left Vietnam with 72 people on the boat with 10 meters. 10 meters, the long is 10 meters...

F: Right.

S: ...and the wide is, I thought, maybe two and a half meters. With 72 people, and just all the people in my family is 32 people. With 40 people, you know, they saw us try escaping and then they follow us--if we won't let them go with us they will tell with the Vietnamese Communist to come to catch us.

F: Oh, so you have to take them with you then?

S: Uh-huh. And for five day and five nights on the sea, we don't have enough water to drink, food to eat. After, five days and five nights we saw the boat of the thiefs tied up. And they come to us and we didn't

S: know that is a thiefs. We didn't know that. And, after they help us to get on the boat and after one or two hours, they gave us food to eat and after that they search for gold. Yeah, and they take all of the gold of the people go in my boat, and they show us the way to go to Malaysia. And we went to Malaysia for around, one day and one night, and we came to Malaysia. We saw the island. It's too many, too many people there. About, I thought 42,000 people. On the, the island, about one-and-half miles. And we saw very crowded people there. And we get there, and we live there. We don't have food, enough food to eat everyday. We have to go up to the forest, to cut down the tree to make the tent to live there. Almost a year.

F: Uh-huh. In Malaysia?

S: Yeah, in Malaysia, in the island, it's almost a year. We have the organization of American to come to, you know, ask us about something in Vietnam and was my father was in Vietnam, and my father tell him he was a soldier, something like that. They let us to left Malaysia to come to, you know, left the island to came to the main capital of Malaysia is Kuala Lumpur. And we live there for, about three or four months. You know, we got to travel because my uncles, he went to Switzerland and he sponsor my family to go to Switzerland and after that, and between America and Switzerland, I don't know what's wrong with them, they put all of the Switzerland that my father want to go to in Switzerland and American, and they ask my father why my father don't want to go to America. Why he want to go to Switzerland. And my father says because we have the relative in Switzerland and we want to live together, something like that. They says there in Switzerland they cannot come to the concentration camp to ask us about that, and we live there three months and the American people they call on us to come up there and then, they says now if my father want to go to America right, they would let us go, because the organization of Switzerland, they not accept us to go to Switzerland. Then we came here, right. We came here. I remember, that is the organization of, YMCA, you know? YMCA--that's the sponsor, and, I don't know, something like that. Her name is, uh, tree---T-H-R-, yeah, something like that. And we came here, right, with no people, nobody come to take us home or go to the house of the organization that they sponsor us, and they rent the house for us to live there. Nobody come to the airport to meet us and we stay there for more than three hours. And I didn't know how to speak any English. My father and all my family they didn't know how to speak English, too. And, we stay there for three hours. And, we didn't know about it and we have the box. The box--that's just some of the paper about the Vietnamese secrecy like that and we show to the man who worked in the airport and he called the taxi come to take us go down to the main office of the YMCA. And we came there right but we don't have the money to pay for the driver. And he still argue with us why I don't have to pay the money for him. And we said, we just came to America and we didn't know how to speak English, you know. Makes my father so mad about that, but he cannot say anything, with him. And we stay there for about one-and-half hours. And, a man come YMCA, he came to and he pay the money and take us home. And leave us live in the house that he rent for the Vietnamese refugee, that just came from America to live there. That's in the house is, 14 people and my family is seven people, right. And, that's plus together is 21 people living in that house.

F: Where is that house?

S: The house is in Arlington. The house in Arlington, and we live there just only three days. Three days my father, you know, he still get sleep because it's half way up the hour, something like that. The lady come to ask my father and she wanted my father to go to work. And my father he didn't know how to speak English and he say, how can he work. And she says, that's okay, they don't care about the English and only three days and my father have to go to work. You see, my father have to go to work with no English. He came to work there and the lady rent for us the house to live here. I live here almost two years.

F: Uh-huh. So you've been there every since that time.

S: Right. I live here right, and my father to work with him with the salary for each hour is three dollar and thirty-five cents.

F: Where does he work?

S: I thought he works for the chemical factories, something like that. And, after he worked there for three months and he got some problem with the chemical came to his eye, right, and he had to go to the hospital. After that, and, the doctor write for him the note and then he cannot go to work, you know, he have to stay home and rest for one more or two more weeks, something like that. But after my father get well and he came back to work and the man who was the husband of the lady, you know, who come to ask my father to go to work. He is that manager in that factory. And my father told him about that, you know, but he came to and he told the boss, it's my father lazy and he stay home, he didn't want to go to work. And, the boss layoff my father, get-fire my father. See, get-fire my father and he didn't pay one week for my father work there. And my father stay home and we--how can we live now--and we came to the church and we saw the lady who work for the church came to my house, and, you know, help us and, something like that. And, me and my father came to the career center, where the social worker work there. And to ask them and we have seen some Vietnamese people, they came out and ask us some like that. And they call the Red Cross, you know, come to my house and to give my family food to eat. And for about two weeks, right, two weeks. And we have application for the welfare. And we live here and then the YMCA they didn't come back to my house anymore. And, I have to go to find the school to go to myself. Me and my father, you know, came to find this school but we didn't know the way to go. We lost the way. With five hours on the street and we go around and like that. And we saw the taxi, and we come to him and we saw, you know. I very lucky because I have the address, you know, address somebody write for me. I gave to him and he know that and he took us go home and he take us, Mmm-mmm five dollars for that, and after, to apply for this, for the school semester they, you know, took me to come to the School to apply for to go to school. And I came to school and I study. I tried study so hard, study so hard to help my family, and my father tried so hard to find a job to work because he didn't want to stay home. If he stay home we don't have enough money to live. And my dad and my mom go to work for ______.

F: Mmmmm. Where's that?

S: At Tyson Corner. Because my mother she was a tailor and my father he was a auto mechanic for twenty years. But he came and he worked, you know, because he doesn't know how to speak English. And he cannot deal with his job and he have to change his job. And he, now he work for, a bookshop. you know, and my mom is still a tailor and the church came to help us and to give us the _______, and to leave something to us and to help us to go to church and they still help my father and my grandparents to study English, you know. And my father, now he change his job and he work for a ___, and my mom work there too. Now they work for eight dollars for an hour.

F: Uh-huh, well that's much better. Good. Have your parents been able to take any courses in English at all or are they just learning sort of as they go along?

S: Yes, they have taken two course for English, but they didn't know how, you know because they worry about it--my relative in Vietnam and to go to work to get money for the children in the house to live, and they cannot remember and they cannot go to study anymore. They have still go to work.

F: Yeah. Do they work during the day or during the evening or how? What's their situation?

S: They work during the day. From nine o'clock until five-thirty. Maybe they work over weekend too, because they want to have the money for us because my family have seven people.

F: Uh-huh. Five children and ...

S: Yeah. Five children and my parents.

F: Yeah, yeah, that's a lot. So, how far is it where they work, it's Tysons Corner from here still?

S: Before they work at Tysons Corner, but now they move the job, they work at the not far from away to my house. Just only fifteen minutes.

F: Oh, good. Well, that's much better. that's much better. How do you think your parents feel about living here now?

S: They thinks, they live here, that's it's, you know, the new life for them, right. And they, they live here, but, you know, we like to live here but my parents, not, because they remember the relative in Vietnam and they didn't know how to speak English. And, here, they don't have friend-- and that's thing for them. For the people they go to work with, American people, they cannot speak and listen to them. If they got some trouble with them, what do they do with them.

F: Yeah, yeah. Are there any Vietnamese where they work or are they all Americans?

S: Before they work, have just only American people, but now they work with my uncles.

F: Mmm-mmm. Is that your uncle that was in Switzerland or is he still in Switzerland?

S: No. You know, when we came to Malaysia and my two uncles, they have their family, right. In their family they got, one got three children and both of them got ten people in their family. And, they want to go to America with us but the American, you know, they not accept because a lot of people in the family, from thirty-two people. We have to separate. My uncle, he didn't got two legs because when the war over he got the bomb, you know, he sit on the bomb. Boom, like this and crush his leg. And, the Switzerland came to, you know, ask him something and they took him to Switzerland with ten people there. And we got twenty-two people came to America.

F: Oh, I see. So you have one uncle here and one uncle in Switzerland?

S: No. I got two uncles in Switzerland.

F: Two uncles in Switzerland.

S: My grandparents, they got twelve children. And my mother is the oldest children in the family.

F: Oh, I see, I see. So you've got a lot of aunts and uncles. How do they like living in Switzerland? Do you know, do you hear from them much?

S: Yes. Last summer, my uncle he came here. And he told us about Switzerland. He told us the life in America is better than in any country they came to, because Switzerland is a beautiful country, right, but have to import food, rice, and something else from another country came to that country. And he says during the winter we have to pay the taxes during the winter, and during the summer we have to pay the taxes for the summer. And the license driver is $3,000, for a license driver. Said it's very hard to get a car.

F: Yeah, yeah. Does he have a car or...?

S: No. He didn't have a car, he came to Switzerland for three years. He didn't have a car.

F: What's he doing in Switzerland is he, He's got a job?

S: He work for the factory to make the watch.

F: Is there a large Vietnamese community where he lives? Are there alot of Vietnamese in the area of Switzerland?

S: No, just only 10,000 Vietnamese people and they divide in all of the countries. And, my uncles, one live in area that's speak, uh French and one live in another country, speaks German.

F: Oh, that's hard then.

S: They want to came here to live.

F: Yeah, are they gonna try to move? Can they do that?

S: They wait for my family, you know, to ask for the church to sponsor them came to live here.

F: Do your parents have many friends at church, are they...?

S: Just only American. American people in the church.

F: Oh, which church are you...
S: ____________.

F: Oh, so it's not the, uh, I was thinking the church that they go to.

S: No, I thought he is Catholic Church, we Baptist...

F: How did you go to that church? Did you used to go to a Baptist Church or did you go since you've come here?

S: We, in Vietnam we didn't have any religion. And after we came to, you know, we left Vietnam, on the way we go, right, and we pray to God to help us and to save us to came to land with no problem. You know, after three days and we saw a lot of sharks. You know. Yeah. And, during the tide go up, you know, they follow our boat. That's very, and much we pray to God and he help us to come to Malaysia with no problem. After that, my family believe in Jesus and we came to America and we find a church to go. We usually came to church every Sunday, to service.

F: Uh-huh. Are there any other Vietnamese there at all--or--that go to that church?

S: I thought one or two family.

F: Uh-huh. Yeah, because there are a number around that, a number around the church that live near the church. Okay. How do you like school here? What do you think of the church in the United States?

S: Well, the school, I like so much. I like so much, but we got some trouble with some people in that school. Look, like my country, too. Some good people and some bad people. When I first came to the school and I started there and just a few Vietnamese people. A lot of them nice, most people, but some people do very bad thing. They took all of my gym clothes, my books, and I go home I don't have the money to buy it. Ask for my mother and during that time my parents, they didn't go to work and we don't have the money to buy another clothes. And I have to wait for three months. I got zero all the time in the class.

F: Ohhh. Cause you didn't have the ...stuff for it?

S: ...The clothes to

F: Ohhh. And they didn't understand that.

S: Well, the teacher say I have to buy it. I don't have money. Just buy the first time and they took all of my, no, I have to buy the soft suit, the short, and the sock, plus, more than eight dollars. And, we have three, oh, no four children. Four, you know, my family have four children to go to school. My sister, because she sick. She got seizure and said to stay home.

F: How are your, do you have brothers and sisters or...

S: I got the older sister is 21 years old. And my younger sister is 14 years old. And my brother, younger brother is 13 years old and the one is 12 years old.

F: So you're kinda' in the middle there. What's your oldest sister do. Is she still in school or...?

S: She still going to school, but sometime she have to stay home because she got the seizure and she cannot go to school, you know. I saw when I took her, came to the hospital, they took her blood and I saw all they took too much. Just only ten day took for, three, you know, some blood, they took for her blood.

F: Yeah. To test.

S: Yeah. Test every ten days.

F: Oh, goodness, every ten days they do that?

S: Yeah.

F: Have they been doing that a long time or just recently?

S: About two months ago, you know. They took every ten days, and they gave her a new kind of medicine to take everyday and she got to go to sleep everyday, like that, and sometime she fall down.

F: Yeah, yeah. What do they say? Do they hope that they can try to cure that?

S: Yeah. They try to stop that seizure. And they gave my sister two medicine to drink and she leave and she fell down. Because the medicine I thought the medicine make her gets in trouble. Sleep so much and she cannot go to school.

F: I wanted to ask you about the school here versus your school in Vietnam, and what the differences are, you think?

S: Yeah, it's a lot of different in my country, you know. The rule in the school is very, very hard, but in American they are so easy. The student came to Vietnamese school the same uniform, and don't have to smoke, drink, or have the girl friend, boy friend. Look like American do that. That's American, I saw. A lot of people. They kiss on the hall, you know, something like that. They smoke a lot.

F: They couldn't do that in Vietnam, huh? Do they smoke in the high school now?

S: Mmm-mmm.

F: No. Outside or...?

F: Mmm-mmm...How bout the subjects that you studied in Vietnam? What kind of things were you studying. Wait, you hadn't gone to school for a few years before you left, huh? What about before the Communist came, were the subjects that you studied then different from what you study now, or about the same?

S: Yeah, it did compare with American as we same, because we study history--not English. Not English, right. And, math, science, like American. Like American. But we just we got only four hours for a day. And the American got seven hours.

F: Yeah, long day, huh?

S: Yeah. We study until Saturday. To go Monday until Saturday. We got only one day from Sunday's weekend.

F: Right. Do you like having a two day weekend?

S: Yeah. Yeah, it make me, you know, so glad to have two days to get some sleep, to get full sleep.

F: Do you stay up late to study? Now?

S: Mmmm, uh-huh. Everyday came to school at 6:30, right. Okay. I walk here and came to school about half an hour. I came to school at seven, I study until 2:00. I came home at 2:30 and I have to do my work until 10:00. I have to do my work until 10:00.

F: Do you start classes at seven or...

S: Yeah, uh, 7:30.

F: Wow, that's early.

S: Sometime it make me so crazy because I don't understand about a lot of English words and some slang, the words in U.S. History, I don't understand. Make me so crazy. I have to find the dictionary, but some words I cannot find.

F: Yeah. Do you think that's the hardest subject, U.S. History, to take for you now?

S: Yes. U.S. History and biology. Those are the hardest.

F: What do you like the best?

S: Math. You know, I study math. I like alot.

F: What would like to do, do you think, after you finish school?

S: I thought I plan to college and then my plan is study for electronics engineering.

F: Where would you like to go to college, do you know yet?

S: My church chose for me a college, at

F: Are you involved in any of the clubs at school or any activities that there are in high school?

S: Yes, Vietnamese Club, and I play volleyball.

F: How long have you been playing volleyball?

S: One-half years.

F: Do a lot of Vietnamese students play volleyball or is it mostly Americans or are there other, what kind of people make up the volleyball team?

S: Oh, a lot of Vietnamese, and Spanish, and some American, you know, come together and play.

F: Did you play volleyball in your country?

S: Not yet. Because I just thirteen years old.

F: Oh, but was that a sport that people did?

S: Oh, yeah, yeah. That's a sport and the main sport is soccer. The main sport is soccer.

F: The main sport is soccer. Do you play soccer now? No?

S: Not yet. So busy.

F: Yeah, Too much, huh?

S: Just play volleyball, during Tuesday and Thursday and Saturday. I came to church, I help the church to give out the clothes and something else for the people who just came to America.

F: Do they have a place there at the church to do this.

S: Yes. Yes, every Saturday I work at 9:00 until 12. I work there for every Saturday.

F: And that's the church in ____________.

S: Yes.

F: Uh-huh. Oh, well that's good, I didn't know that they, they had that there.

S: I work there about, almost a year. Yeah, I work there. Just volunteer to work. It's some people there, there's some old ladies in the church, you know, we came to help them to carry the heavy box of the clothes in it, and go upstair, you know, because they too old. They cannot carry the heavy box go there.

F: Sure. Do a lot of people come each Saturday.

S: Yes. More than 40 people.

F: Really?

S: Yes, every Saturday. More than 40 people that came. A lots of Cambodians and Laotian.

F: Are there still a lot of Vietnamese that are coming, say that have just come this year in your high school or near the church there that you know are newly arriving?

S: Oh, they came every month and every years.

F: Still...

S: Yeah, still came. Plus, I thought about six months ago, just a few Vietnamese people came to this

F: Do you think there are more Cambodians and Laotians coming or is it just that more of them go to the church to pick up the clothes? I just wondered. I don't know myself.

S: Oh. I thought a lot of, yeah, Cambodians and Laotian. And some African, African people.

F: Ethiopians, I guess.

S: Mmm-mmm. They came here.

F: How bout the Vietnamese Club. What do you do in the Vietnamese Club?

S: We have a meeting, some, week we have once for meeting. Or some two weeks or three weeks, something like that. We have talk about the education, about the subject in the school. If it's so hard and we can't communicate with the teacher to have the Vietnamese teacher to teach us about it, some subject we don't understand and so hard for us to do. And, they help us alot, to do the work in the school that we don't understand, and help us to explain us, and you know, some trouble we got in at the school, to help the new people came to school too.

F: Do the teachers spend time after school with the students or in between class.

S: Yes. Yes, they stay there until, I thought, 4:30.

F: Well that's good. They can get the help that they need. Is there something set up so that the students who've been here

F: longer can help the new ones that are coming?

S: Last year we have. No. Before a years from last year. A lot of American people they came here from 1975. They still hate the new people came here to live.

F: They do? They don't like them?

S: Yeah.

F: How come? You know, somebody else told me that, too. I didn't know why.

S: Yeah, you know, I don't know why, you know, they just like to play with American people. And, we got some trouble. And, we ask them: are you Vietnamese people. We so glad to meet the Vietnamese people, but they says they are not Vietnamese people. They are Spanish or Laotian and other people. Not, they not say they are Vietnamese people.

F: But they really were.

S: Yeah. They really were.

F: Is that still a problem?

S: Yeah. In the school children. Still a problem. They didn't like to have the new student came to school.

F: Do you know why. They've just settled in here or they...

S: I thought maybe they just like American people because since they are small they came to American and they live and, you know, their temper look like American people. They look just like we do, people, you know like their temper. They do not like the Vietnamese custom anymore. They change the custom.

F: Yeah. That's a shame cause that makes tension. Let me see, what else. Do you like to watch T.V.?

S: Yeah.

F: What kind of things do you like to watch on TV.?

S: About the FBI or the war, I like to watch. And, I like to watch wrestling.

F: Wrestling?

S: Yeah, sports. I like to watch that.

F: What's your favorite sport to watch?

S: Volleyball and soccer.

F: Do you have a favorite soccer team?

S: Yeah.

F: Which one? What soccer team do you like?

S: Do you mean, when I watch the T.V.?

F: To watch, yeah.

S: Yeah, I like the German.

F: The, which one?

S: The German team. German. Yeah, that's a good team.

F: Did you watch the World Soccer Championships when Italy won?

S: Yeah, yeah, Italy. That is so lucky for Italy!

F: It sure was.

S: Every year is from German, right? And, let me see--German--one time is no German in. Yeah, that's German too. That's still, they still got the cup from the world soccer. I don't know about this time, Italy is so lucky.

F: Yeah. They were probably just as surprised as everybody else was. How about music, do you like to listen to music?

S: Yeah.

F: What kind of music do you like.

S: Just country music.

F: Country music. Do you have a favorite group or singer?

S: I join to choir in the church. I sing for the church every Sunday night.

F: That's good. Do you have practice once a week?

S: Yes, we have practice every Sunday at 5:30. Practice 3 to 5. And, about 18 people. Just the children.

F: What kind of other things do you do at church. Does the church have other activities like dinners or...

S: Yeah, Sunday got the dinner and, you know, every holiday they have in the church and I have to come to service. Do the free service. I like to help the old people to clean the house and to wash their window during the winter.

F: In the church, you mean or...

S: No. For the house. Last week we came to the farm with the American pastor, and to do him a favor is to cut the wood for him to ready for the winter. To, you know, have firewood in the winter.

F: Right. Where is the farm?

S: I don't know the name of that country, but it's far away from here, bout two hours.

F: Is it his farm or does the church own part of it?

S: His farm, his farm. He live there with his wife and his son was dead there when he jumping and he fell down and broken his neck.

F: Climbing the mountain or something?

S: He play some sport and I don't know how you call, that look like the bed, but when you jump...

F: Oh. Trampoline.

S: Oh, trampolines, right. Right.

F: Oh, my, that's a shame.

S: He broken his neck.

F: Yeah. And your family--does your family go to the dinners and stuff that the church has?

S: Yeah. Came too. We enjoy. And we, now we become a Christian. We baptized from last year.

F: Good. How bout your best friends? Are your best friends at school mostly Vietnamese or mostly Americans or other?

S: A lots of Vietnamese. And I got just favorites, three Americans. It's two girls in my church that came to school with me, and during the typing. And my English, I got only one boy it's American. I like a lot. Oh, three-four. I got four. One is in math class. He handicap.

F: American or...

S: Yeah. Yeah, American. He handicap. I help him alot to do the work with Algebra III. Yeah, me and him together.

F: Did you think it was hard to get to know Americans. To make friends with Americans?

S: Yeah. It is hard.

F: What kind of things did you do to get to know them?

S: Just came to church is the first thing. And, well, there's the easy thing is that you know how to smoke and drink. It's easy to make friends with them.

F: Yeah.

S: I don't want to. I went to church, and I got friend in the church.

F: Okay. Do you think you'd ever go back to Vietnam if you could?

S: I thought when my country became freedom--become freedom, I will come back to my country.

F: Do you have a lot of relatives that still live?

S: Sure. Yes. A lot.

F: Yeah, sure, cause your grandparents had how many, twelve?

S: Yeah. She got twelve children.

F: So a lot of them are still there. Are your grandparents still alive?

Do they stay in Viet Nam?

S: Yes, they still alive. When my grandfather, this is the father of my father, right, he was dead by the Vietnamese Communist. They thought he was the Vietnamese soldier and then they drown him underwater, and kill him dead. Now I got some, one grandmother live there with my uncles.

F: In Switzerland,or...

S: No. In Vietnam.

F: Oh, Vietnam.
What do you think of American teenagers? Do you think they're respectful towards their parents? or, how do you think they act towards their parents?

S: Yes. Some of them. They be very, very nice to their parents. Some of them not. I have seen two or four American teenagers left their house and came to live with another people, didn't want to live with their parents because they drink and they smoke and their parents told them to stop it but they not. They left the house to go live with another people.

F: In high school? These were people in high school?

S: Yeah.

F: That's young.

S: And I have seen, you know, when I have taken the license test, for driver, and I have seen the girl. And here with her mother and fighting her. That time to--they left the room for the test, for the license test...

F: So, you never do that with your parents, huh?

S: No, I didn't...

F: Do you think some of the Vietnamese teenagers that have come over, are they starting to do that or do they still obey and respect their parents like they did in Vietnam?

S: In my custom, the children must obey their parents. If they told you that thing wrong--but you had to do that for them, because they, you know, look like the king, right, who told his soldier to do this this, that this wrong. But you still do that. Never to argue with your own parents.

F: What kind of things do you do in your home to keep up Vietnamese customs? Or, traditions, or ways of...

S: When we left homes we have to tell with our parents, and we want to go somewhere else, have to tell them. And, no, if I want to work, right, I have to ask my parent first, to let me go to work or not. Because they sometime I go to work and I have the money, right, it make me to like money a lot and I cannot go to school. That will miss my school.

F: Are you going to work at all now, do you mean, or you have,

S: No, No. Have to stay home and study because my parents told me try to study. When Vietnamese became freedom I have to came then to help my country.

F: Right, right. Yeah, you have plenty of years to work. Don't rush into it!

S: The people in my church, they didn't want me go to work. They want me to go to school.

F: Yeah, best to study, I think. Okay, I wanna ask you the questions here: What different languages do you speak? Vietnamese and English.

S: I just speak Vietnamese and English. That's it.

F: Okay. Do you speak any Chinese at all?

S: Uh-uh! Real Vietnamese.

F: Real Vietnamese, okay. (S2: Are you sure?)

S: Sure. He, too. He, too. He's real Vietnamese.

F: Real Vietnamese. Do you think the people that speak Chinese and then speak Vietnamese don't speak real Vietnamese? Is that what people say?

S: Yeah, yeah. Some people. If you see the people, the last name is Nguyen--N-G-U-Y-E-N--and the last name is T-R-A-N and L-E--that is real Vietnamese people. I know, their last name. Not talking about Chinese, they came to Vietnam and they live there, they know how to speak Vietnamese. And they had the money, after 1975, they give Vietnamese Communist money to build for them the boat to let them go very freely.

F: The Chinese. The Chinese living there? Oh, really! So they were treated better than...

S: Yeah. Better than us. They came to America, you know. We have the name. That's the Vietnamese, real. Just almost Chinese. It's very, very few Vietnamese people. We don't have money to pay for them, just because the Vietnamese, real Vietnamese, they have the boat. And they call their relative and then go. Just the Chinese, you know. They call their friends and somebody else to make the boat and to pay for Vietnamese Communist. Then they left Vietnamese so easily.

F: Oh, I didn't know about that. So Vietnamese and English and that's it, huh. How long did you study English first of all?

S: Two years.

F: Two years, okay. Did you study at all, English at all when you were in the camps in Malaysia?

S: Uh-uh. That's so hard for me to get to study English, because in Malaysia I live in the island, right. It cost me to study English, I have to pay the money for them.

F: Oh, really. They make you pay.

S: Yeah, I have to pay. I don't have the money to pay. Just all most Chinese people they study it. I have to--have to go to the forest to cut the wood and help the workmen to sell for them and to get the money to buy the tent to make the house to live everyday.

F: Okay. Did you study any French or anything in high school. Did you study that?

S: Uh-uh.

F: Okay. In Vietnam you studied your language how many years? How many years did you go to school.

S: I went to school when I was six years old. Seven, eight, nine, ten. When I finish in school in Vietnam, it's fifth grade.

F: Okay. How bout in your home, do you always speak Vietnamese or sometimes speak English?

S: Yeah. We speak Vietnamese.

F: How bout with your younger brothers and sisters, do they ever speak English to each other?

S: Yeah, sometime.

F: Sometimes they do? How old are they again, the younger ones?

S: The youngest one is twelve years old.

F: Twelve years old. Okay, so they do sometimes. When do you like to speak, are there times when you would like to speak English better, I mean, like to speak English more and times you like to speak Vietnamese more?

S: When we came to the church, we like to speak English special to make the American to understand us because some, when we speak Vietnamese and they thought that's we tell say something bad about them. We have to speak English. At home, I have to speak Vietnamese to let my parents to understand us.

F: Right, right. How bout with your Vietnamese friends, do you always speak Vietnamese?

S: Yes, we speak Vietnamese-like him.

F: Do you ever speak English together?

S: Sometime.

F: When--what kind of things do you use English for?

S: When we talk with a friend, American friend or some, the words that we don't understand. That's word we don't know the meaning. We just speak English then.

F: If you're studying together, do you ever use English when, you're studying?

S: Yes.

F: Cause you talk about the subjects in school. But usually it's Vietnamese.

S: Yeah, usually Viétnamese.

F: Okay. Do you think that your English sounds just like your American friends' English, or do you think it sounds different?

S: I don't think because some, I speak like American, some lot, and some of the hard word, and some have the, too many definition. Sometime it make me not... Now, English, right, it go the high and then low and high and low and then, it go just the same way. It's straight.

F: So it'd be different. Okay. Do you read books or magazines or newspapers in Vietnamese now?

S: No. I just read the American book.

F: Do you write letters in Vietnamese?

S: Yeah. I write letter to send to my friend in California. In Vietnamese.

F: So you've kept up your writing in Vietnamese. Okay. How bout, one more thing. Do your parents ever worry about your younger brothers and sisters...

S: Yeah.

F: ...stopping or not learning-Vietnamese.

S: Yeah. They worry about that.

F: What kinds of things do they say?

S: They tell them to speak Vietnamese everyday and to write a letter to send to my grandmom in Vietnam.

F: So they encourage them to write. Can they write all the _________.

S: They can write but some grammar is...they have some problem with the grammar.

F: Okay, that's all...if I could ask you to read something aloud could you do that?

S: You want me to read it for you?

F: Yeah, if you would.

S: [reads reading passage aloud]

APPENDIX C

LIST OF SUBJECTS

Subject #	Age	Sex	Length of Residence in United States	Languages Known in Addition to Vietnamese and English
1	13	F	7 years	none
2	10	M	2 years	none
3	11	F	2 years	none
4	13	M	7 years	none
5	12	M	7 years	none
6	12	M	1 year	none
7	11	M	3 years	Chinese
8	11	M	2 years	none
9	11	F	3 years	none
10	11	M	2 years	Chinese
11	10	M	1 year	none
12	12	M	2 years	Chinese
13	11	F	1 year	none
14	11	M	2 years	none
15	11	F	1 year	none
16	12	M	3 years	none
17	11	M	2 years	none
18	12	F	3 years	none
19	11	M	7 years	none
20	50	M	7 years	French
21	48	M	6 years	French
22	24	M	2 years	Chinese
23	28	M	2 years	French
24	45	M	3 years	Chinese
25	17	M	2 years	French
26	24	M	1 year	Thai
27	20	M	3 years	none
28	16	F	3 years	French
29	15	M	7 years	French
30	16	M	7 years	none
31	11	M	7 years	French
32	37	F	7 years	Thai
33	12	F	3 years	None
34	10	F	3 years	French
35	17	F	2 years	none
36	15	F	3 years	Thai
37	17	M	2 years	Chinese
38	23	F	3 years	Chinese
39	15	F	2 years	Chinese
40	13	M	2 years	Chinese
41	10	F	2 years	none
42	11	F	7 years	French
43	16	M	7 years	French
44	11	F	7 years	none
45	16	F	1 year	none
46	17	F	2 years	none
47	17	F	1 year	none
48	15	M	2 years	French
49	16	F	7 years	none
50	15	F	6 years	

APPENDIX C (CONTINUED)

Subject #	Age	Sex	Length of Residence in United States	Languages Known in Addition to Vietnamese and English
51	16	F	6 years	none
52	19	M	2 years	none
53	17	M	7 years	none
54	17	M	7 years	French
55	17	F	7 years	French
56	12	M	7 years	none
57	12	F	7 years	none
58	24	M	2 years	French
59	17	M	7 years	French
60	18	F	7 years	French
61	18	M	3 years	none
62	48	M	1 year	French
63	36	F	7 years	French, Spanish
64	20	F	7 years	none
65	22	F	7 years	none
66	33	M	2 years	French
67	40	F	1 year	none
68	15	F	1 year	French
69	19	F	7 years	none
70	10	F	7 years	none
71	16	M	2 years	none
72	17	M	2 years	none
73	37	M	2 years	French
74	39	M	7 years	French
75	15	M	7 years	none
76	20	F	7 years	French
77	24	M	7 years	none
78	33	F	7 years	none
79	40	M	7 years	none
80	20	M	7 years	none
81	21	M	3 years	French
82	18	F	2 years	none
83	20	F	2 years	none
84	16	M	2 years	none
85	16	M	2 years	none
86	21	M	1 year	Chinese
87	26	F	1 year	none
88	22	M	7 years	French, Latin
89	23	M	7 years	none
90	40	M	2 years	French
91	36	F	2 years	French
92	10	M	7 years	Spanish
93	40	F	3 years	none